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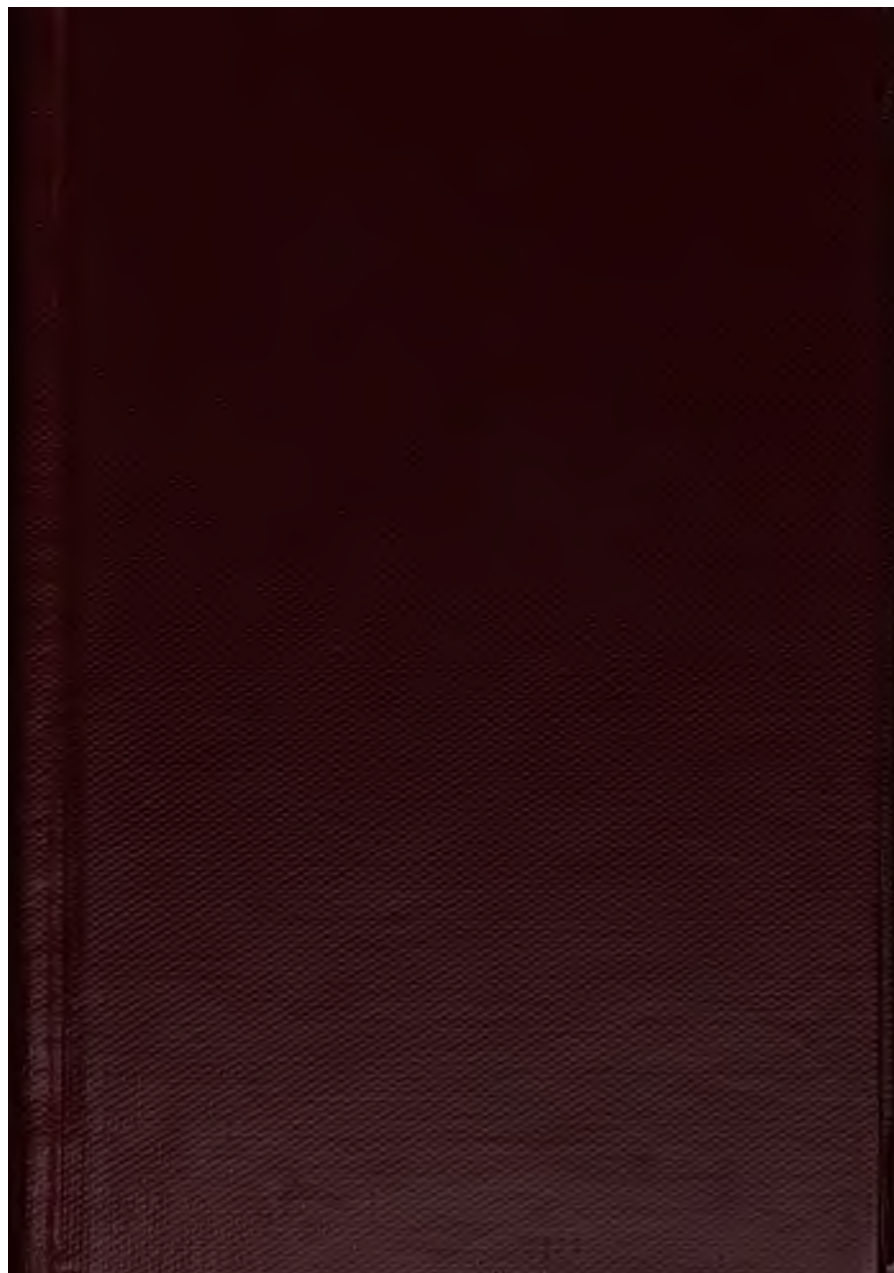
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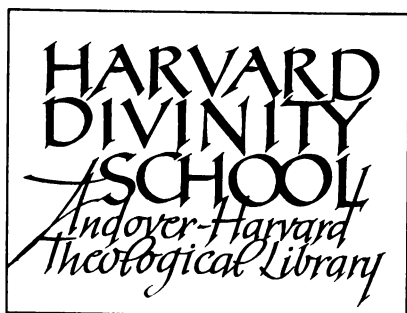
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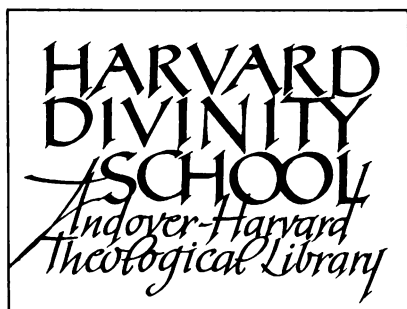
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②

OUTLINE
OF
CHRISTIAN HISTORY

A.D. 50-1880

BY

JOSEPH HENRY ALLEN

AUTHOR OF "HEBREW MEN AND TIMES," "CHRISTIAN HISTORY IN ITS
THREE GREAT PERIODS," "OUR LIBERAL MOVEMENT
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PREFACE.

THIS "Outline" is designed, primarily, as a manual for class instruction. In its plan it follows rigidly the mechanical form which seems best fitted for such a manual. Indeed, in no other way would it have been possible to include the necessary number and variety of topics within so limited a space. And by this method, it is hoped, an amount of information is brought together and presented with sufficient clearness, which will be of value and interest, not merely to the classes for which it is designed, but for any intelligent reader or student of general history.

As to a plan of study, it is recommended that, in first going over the ground, the twelve chapters should be taken in as many lessons, studying only the part in larger type. The general scheme, or course of events, having thus been set clearly before the mind, it may then be best to select particular divisions, or periods, to be studied in more detail. If, for example, the first four chapters, and the four beginning with the Reformation, should be divided into *three lessons each*, the whole course would then occupy thirty-six lessons, or about the work of a single year; the rest being essential to the plan, but less important to be learned, and less easily illustrated from other sources.

Still, it should be remembered, an epitome like this is not history. To make its lessons of any value, they need a broader interpretation than can possibly be given in such a manual. This book, accordingly, refers constantly—as the most compact and convenient summary of the subject from its point of view—to the “Christian History in its Three Great Periods” (3 vols.), published by Roberts Brothers, Boston. It may be, indeed, regarded as a complement, or key, to that series.

Neither that, however, nor any single work, ought to satisfy the student. For a general guide, to both teacher and pupil, such a work of reference as McClintock and Strong’s “Cyclopædia” is perhaps best; or, for the earlier part (eight centuries), Smith’s great Dictionaries of Christian Antiquities (2 vols.) and Biography (4 vols.). The single-volume text-book by Philip Smith (Harpers) will serve as a sufficient and well-illustrated manual of reference for the first ten centuries. Milman’s histories of “Christianity” and “Latin Christianity” ought also to be within easy reach. For the period beginning with the Reformation, abundant books of reference may be readily found, needing no special mention. A more complete list of authorities, with tables of Chronology and other aids, will be found in the “Christian History” before referred to.

J. H. A.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,
September 1, 1884.

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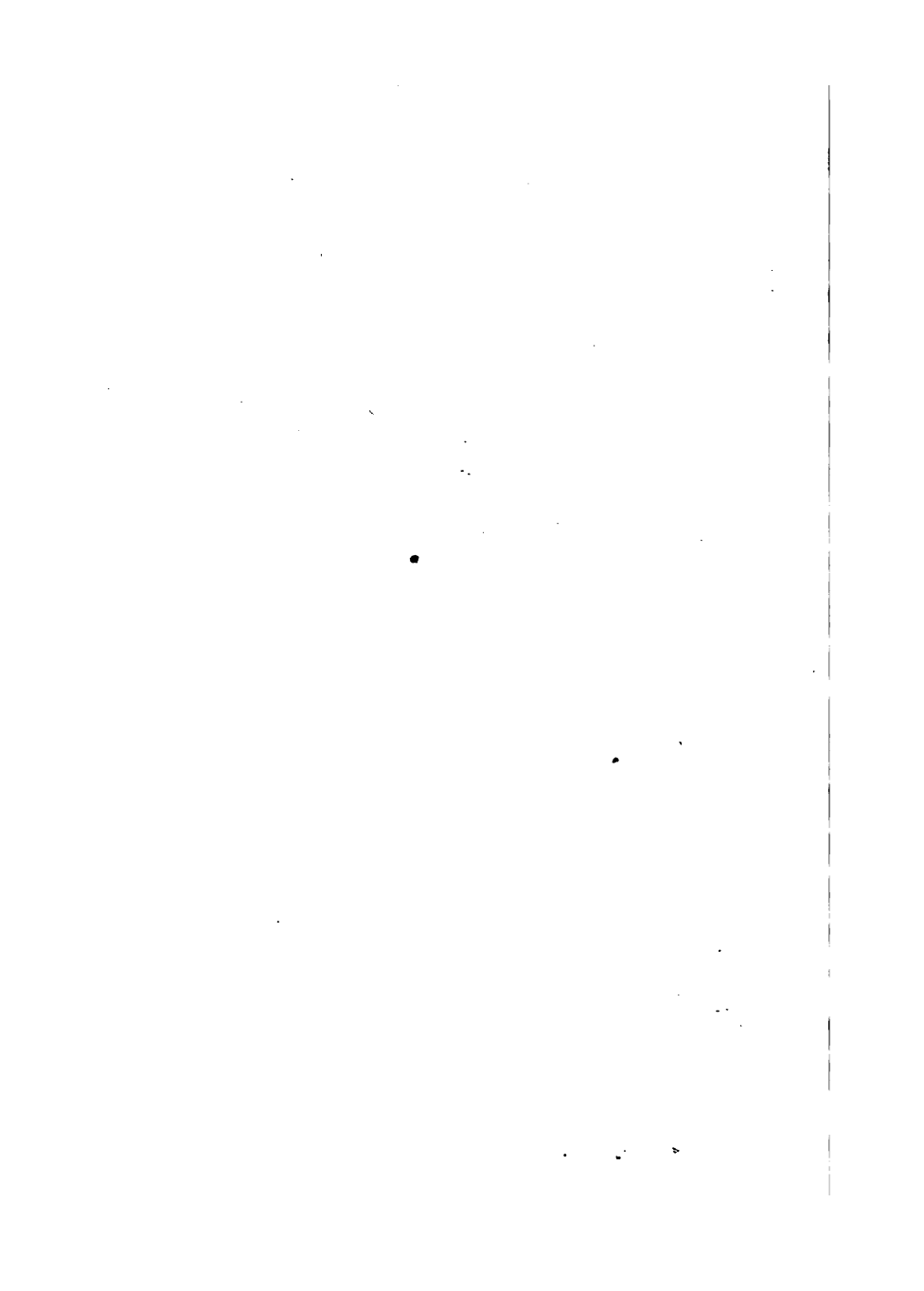
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OUTLINE OF CHRISTIAN HISTORY.

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<i>First Period</i> : Early Christianity (including "Fragments")	i
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The letters H. M. refer to "Hebrew Men and Times."

Figures with the sign § refer to *sections of this book*.

OUTLINE OF CHRISTIAN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE MESSIANIC PERIOD.

TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWISH NATION, A. D. 135.

The Beginning.

1. CHRISTIAN HISTORY begins about the year 50 A. D., or a little after, when "the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch" (Acts xi. 26).

a. Before this time, and since the crucifixion of Jesus (A. D. 30),¹ the disciples had been known as a small sect, or community, among the Jews (Acts ii. 42-47). Their earliest home was at Jerusalem, and their place of worship was the Jewish Temple (Acts iii. 1). Their peculiar doctrine was simply that Jesus was the Messiah of the Jews, who had died as a sacrifice for the sins of his people, and would soon return in victory and glory (i. 19; Acts ii. 30).

b. The Christian community remained at Jerusalem for a few years, in peace and unmolested (Acts iv. 21), till the martyrdom of Stephen (i. 27; Acts vii.) and the conversion of Paul (Acts ix.). After this event the disciples were widely scattered, and in the Greek city Antioch came to be known by the Greek name "Christian."

¹ According to the early opinion among the Christians, who dated their chronology from this event.

c. Disputes soon arose between the Jewish Christians (represented by Peter and James) and those who had been Gentiles or Greeks (represented by Paul: see Galatians ii. 4-9), on the question whether all Christians were bound by the Jewish law. These disputes were referred to what is called the Council of Jerusalem, A. D. 51 or 52 (Acts xv.).

The Apostles.

2. The twenty years until the destruction of Jerusalem (A. D. 50-70) are mostly taken up with the *missionary journeys* of the Apostles and other Christian teachers. These years are best known to us through the life and writings of PAUL.¹ The following legends or traditions have come down concerning the Twelve Apostles: —

a. PETER is said to have gone to Rome, where he defeated the great magician Simon Magus (Acts viii.), and became head of the church there.² In a time of persecution he was persuaded to flee; but was met, a little way from the city, by a vision of Jesus, to whom he said, "Lord, whither goest thou?" "To Rome, to be crucified afresh," the vision replied.³ Peter heeded the rebuke, returned to Rome, and was crucified, — head downward, as for humility he himself requested.

b. ANDREW is said to have preached in Scythia (southern Russia), and afterwards to have been put to death by binding with cords to a cross in the form of the letter X,⁴ on which he lingered for three days, steadfastly exhorting the barbarians.

¹ See Lessons on the Life of Paul; also i. 21-46.

² This legend is very important, but most likely untrue. Its real meaning is probably that given below (§ 16. b). The First Epistle of Peter, on the other hand (v. 13), appears to have been written at Babylon, where there was a large community of Jews (H. M. 284-287). To reconcile the two, Babylon is said to be a "mystic" or prophetic name for Rome.

³ At the little chapel *Domine quo vadis*, about a mile from the city walls, towards the south, are footprints carved in a block of marble on the spot where the vision is said to have disappeared.

⁴ This is the form ("St. Andrew's cross") found on the Scottish and Russian flags.

c. JOHN is said to have lived to a great old age in Ephesus ; to have been cast, during the persecution of Domitian (§ 7), into a caldron of boiling oil, from which he came out unhurt ; and to have been banished to the island of Patmos, where he saw the visions of the Book of Revelation (Rev. i. 9). A pleasing anecdote of him is that he bravely sought out in the mountains and won back to the Church a young man, once his disciple, who had become an outlaw, and captain of a band of robbers. In extreme old age he is said to have been carried into the assembly, on public days, where he spoke only these words : " Little children, love one another ! " And being asked why he said no more, he replied, " Because to love one another is to fulfil all the Law."

d. JAMES (" the Greater "), brother of John, was put to death in Jerusalem by Herod (Acts xii. 1). A later tradition is, that he had preached, but made few converts, in Spain, whither his remains were taken and buried at Compostella.¹

e. JAMES (" the Less "), brother of Jesus, remained head of the church, or community, at Jerusalem (Acts xv.), where he frequented the temple, and was revered as a holy man, being so constant in prayer that " his knees were like camel's knees " by continual kneeling. Not long before the siege of the city, refusing the demand of the priests that he should deny his faith, he was cast down from the temple terrace and stoned, then beaten to death " by a fuller's club."

f. PHILIP, according to the legend, after preaching for twenty years in Scythia, was crucified and stoned in Hierapolis of Phrygia.

g. BARTHOLOMEW (generally thought to be the same as NATHANAEL) is said to have visited India, Armenia, and Cilicia, and to have been first flayed alive, then crucified.

h. THOMAS is said to have gone to Parthia and India, and to have died by the thrust of a lance ; MATTHEW, to Ethiopia and Egypt, where he was beheaded ; SIMON (the *Zealot*) to Egypt

¹ " St. James of Compostella " is the patron saint of Spain, and is represented as having been by birth, not a poor fisherman, but a knight and gentleman, and as having often appeared as an armed champion in the battles of Christians against their enemies the Moors.

and Cyrene, and in old age to have been sawn asunder ; JUDAS (or JUDE) to have lived as bishop at Edessa, in Syria, where he was put to death by a lance.

For the fate of JUDAS ISCARIOT, see Matt. xxvii. 3-5 ; Acts i. 18, 19.

For the story of Paul and Thekla, see i. 172.

NOTE.—The above traditions, it will be noticed, are mostly in keeping with our knowledge from other sources, that Paul was especially the teacher of Christianity to the Western—that is, to the European or Roman—world. In their details, however, they are inconsistent with one another, and quite uncertain ; but many of them are of interest in the history of Christian Art.

Pauline Controversy.

3. The most important event of this period, within the Church, was the controversy between Paul and the older Apostles on the question whether Christianity should be independent of the Jewish Law (Galatians ii.).

NOTE.—It is to be considered that Paul, as a Roman citizen (Acts xvi. 37), appealing to the Emperor's protection (id. xxv. 10), and holding that "the powers that be [i. e. the Roman dominion] are ordained of God" (Rom. xiii. 1), could not, like the earlier disciples, look for a national deliverance. He necessarily, therefore, regarded himself as free from the Jewish law ; and, accepting Jesus as Messiah, regarded him purely as a *Saviour from sin*.

a. The points in dispute in this controversy are given in the account of the *Council at Jerusalem* (Acts xv.). The Book of Acts, however, disguises or softens the personal differences among the Apostles, which appear in the writings of Paul.

b. These differences do not wholly disappear for about a hundred years ; and then in the way which is indicated to us by the Clementine Legend (see § 16).

The Synoptical Gospels.

4. The general belief of this time respecting the life and works of Jesus is shown in what is known

as *the triple tradition* of the first three Gospels, — Matthew, Mark, and Luke, — which are called the “Synoptical Gospels,” or **SYNOPTICS**.¹

a. The Synoptical Gospels — or, rather, the materials from which they were afterwards composed — were gathered from the personal memories and traditions of the disciples and friends of Jesus living in Palestine, especially in Galilee (Luke i. 1). This must have been before the rebellion against Rome, which resulted in the desolation of Galilee and the destruction of Jerusalem; though some passages may have been composed after this event. The Triple Tradition includes, strictly, those points only in which *they all agree*.

b. The Christian belief, as shown in the Synoptical Gospels, consists essentially in the two following points: 1. That Jesus was the true Messiah, or King of the Jews; 2. That, having come to life after his crucifixion, he would presently return and establish the promised Kingdom, of which a new Jerusalem, restored and glorified, would be the capital (see Rev. xxi. 2, 10–17; H. M. 394–397).

Persecution of Nero.

5. In A. D. 64, during the reign of Nero (54–68), a terrible fire broke out in Rome, which consumed a great part of the city. A rumor spread among the people that the fire had been set by Nero himself, and even that he had been seen carrying torches, and rejoicing over the ruins. The Emperor, in turn, accused the Christians, who were now numerous in Rome; and from this began what is commonly called the First Persecution.

a. This persecution is described by Tacitus as follows: —

“So then, to suppress the rumor, [Nero] falsely charged with the guilt, and punished with most exquisite tortures, those whom the

¹ So called because they give, in the main, a *connected view* of the same events, and are easily arranged in a “Harmony” (or *synopsis*).

populace called Christians, and hated for their enormities. Christ, the founder of that name, had been sentenced to death by the Procurator Pontius Pilate in the reign of Tiberius. But the pernicious superstition, repressed for a time, broke out again, not only through Judæa, the source of that mischief, but through the city [of Rome] also, whither all things horrible and disgraceful flow from all quarters and gather in heaps. Accordingly, those were first seized who confessed [themselves Christians]; then, on their information, a vast multitude were convicted, not so much on the charge of burning the city as of hatred to mankind. Mockery was also added to their death; for they were wrapped in the skins of wild beasts and mangled to death by dogs, or fastened upon crosses, or set fire to at nightfall [in tarred cloths¹] to serve for torches in the dark. Nero offered his own gardens² for that sport, and exhibited a circus-race, mixing with the crowd in the costume of a charioteer, or else standing in his own chariot. Hence arose a feeling of pity towards the sufferers, — guilty as they were, and deserving to be made the severest examples of; because they seemed to be cut off, not for the general good, but as victims of one man's barbarity."³

b. In the horror and consternation of this time, it came to be widely believed among the Christians that Nero was "Antichrist," the great enemy of God, who must triumph for a season, to prove the fidelity of the disciples, before the Kingdom of Heaven could be finally established.

c. Even after Nero's death, about four years later, it was believed that he would be restored to life after a time, and reign, while the Church should suffer dreadful persecution for three years and a half, before he should finally perish (Rev. xiii. 3-5). Fragments of Greek poems (called the *Sibylline Verses*, and said to be ancient prophecies) were circulated, predicting his return.⁴ (Compare 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.)

d. The most remarkable monument of this time is "The Apocalypse" (Book of Revelation), which repeats some of

¹ Supplied from Juvenal and Martial.

² Where St. Peter's Church now stands.

³ Annals, xv. 44. For the temper and enthusiasm of the martyrs, see the striking account of Renan: *Antéchrist*, ch. vii. This passage of Tacitus is the first distinct mention of the Christians by any Roman or Greek historian.

⁴ A very full and interesting account of these is given in Huidekoper's "Judaism in Rome."

these predictions, with dreadful threats of the wrath to come, followed by promises of great glory and comfort. It is also probable that what are called the "apocalyptic" discourses of Jesus (Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi.) contain an expression of the hopes and terrors which now prevailed.

Destruction of Jerusalem.

6. In the year after Nero's death a war of revolt broke out in Palestine, headed by Galilean zealots, and commanded for a time by the historian Josephus. It was ended by the capture of Jerusalem (A. D. 70), after a siege of several months, with circumstances of great horror; and the "Metropolitan" Church at Jerusalem was extinguished.¹

a. Most of the Jewish Christians are said to have fled, before the siege, to Pella, east of the Jordan, where they continued for many years, known by the name *Nazarenes*, or *Ebionites*. They became in course of time more widely separated from the Greek or Gentile Christians, and were perhaps more in sympathy with their own countrymen.

b. Their name, "Ebionite," signifies *poor*. They took much to heart the beatitude, "Blessed are the poor" (Luke vi. 20). They believed in Jesus simply as a prophet, or as Messiah, and kept a certain allegiance to his family, as descendants of David. Paul appears to have been known among them as "the enemy;" and theirs was probably the "Gospel of the Hebrews," thought to be the germ, or first sketch, of the "Gospel according to Matthew."

c. Many of the Jewish Christians, it is probable, returned to Palestine after the war. The ferocious outbreaks of the Jews, however, in A. D. 115, and afterwards in 117 (see H. M. 422), repelled them; and they seem to have continued, for perhaps half a century longer, a peaceful and pious community in

¹ See H. M. 416-418; and read, if possible, the account of the siege of Jerusalem in Josephus, "Wars of the Jews," book vi.

Palestine, whose chief importance was its later influence upon the Church in Rome (§ 16).¹

d. After the destruction of Jerusalem follows a period of nearly eighty years, during which little is known of the interior history of the Church, except as it may be inferred from the later growth of doctrine. (See, as to the general character of this period, i. 47-49.)

Clement of Rome.

7. In A. D. 95 the Christians in Rome were again persecuted by the Emperor Domitian, for what reason we do not know. The most distinguished victim was CLEMENT, head (or bishop) of the Church there.

a. Clement is known to us as the first of the "Apostolical Fathers." The legend of his martyrdom is that he was fastened to an anchor and cast into the waters of the Hellespont, where his body was afterwards found in a tomb built and guarded by angels. He was believed to have been a personal disciple and friend of the Apostle Peter; and, when Peter had come to be regarded as official Chief of the Apostles and Head of the Church, Clement was recognized as his successor. He was a man, doubtless, though little known to us, of great influence and authority in the early growth of the Western Church.

b. The Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians seem to hint a time of suffering or persecution. They speak of Jesus as Chief, or Captain, and as successor of the Prophets, being sent out by God as the Apostles were by him; of the Church as an Army, with its regular grades of officers, demanding a spirit of military obedience and discipline; of the Resurrection of the Body; and of Martyrdom as the witness and sanction of the truth. These epistles seem to be, in many parts, an imitation of those of the New Testament.

Testimony of Pliny.

8. About the year 110, PLINY, a courteous and accomplished Roman gentleman, was governor of

¹ An interesting account of this community (or what is known of it) is given in Renan's "Origins of Christianity," vol. v.

Bithynia, in Asia Minor, under the Emperor Trajan. In an official letter, or report, he gives the earliest account we have, from outside sources, of a Christian community.

a. At this time the Christians had become a numerous and important body, particularly in the East. The strict legal charge against them was that they disobeyed the State ordinance against secret associations, and violated the State religion by refusing sacrifice to the established divinities, and not honoring the Emperor as a god (see i. 89-93). But to this were added malicious charges of immorality, atheism, and impious and horrid practices in their feasts.

b. Pliny tried at first simply to put the law in force. When the accused were brought before him, he asked if they were Christians; if they confessed, he asked a second and third time, with threats; if they persevered, he ordered them to be put to death. Two girls, maids or attendants (*deaconesses*), were tortured; but nothing could be made out, beyond "an obstinate and extravagant superstition." Pliny was a humane and just man; he saw the probable falsehood of most that was reported of the Christians, and so he wrote to the Emperor for instructions. His testimony is as follows:—

"They said that this was the sum of their fault, or error: that they used on a set day to meet before light, and sing a hymn, with responses, to Christ as a divinity, and bind themselves by oath—not to any crime, but not to commit theft, robbery, or adultery, or to violate their faith, or refuse to give up a deposit on demand. After separating, they came together again to take food—of various sorts, and innocent;¹ but this, they said, they had omitted since my proclamation, in which, by your order, I had forbidden secret societies. . . .

"I thought I ought to consult with you, especially on account of the multitude of those brought in peril. For many of every rank and age, and of both sexes, are and will continue to be brought to trial. This fanaticism has spread not only through cities, but through villages and country districts. Still, it would seem, it may be checked

¹ Referring to the charge that they tasted the flesh of children in their religious feasts (see i. 66).

and healed. It is already plain that temples almost deserted are beginning to be thronged again, and neglected rites to be resumed. We may easily judge, then, what a crowd of people may be won back, if we give them time to change."

c. Trajan, in reply, bids Pliny disregard anonymous charges, but continue to put the law in force, especially that which enjoins worship of the Emperor (i. 93). His letter is very short, and was written hastily (it is probable), under the press of his public cares. In contrast with Pliny's humane scruples, it seems coldly harsh, and quite unworthy of his generally wise and merciful administration.¹

Ignatius.

9. The most celebrated martyr of this period was IGNATIUS, of Antioch, who was cast to the lions in Rome, in A. D. 115. He is the first example of that *eager desire of martyrdom*, which afterwards became a passion among many of the Christians.

a. Ignatius is the second of the "Apostolical Fathers." He is said, by a pleasing tradition, to have been the "little child" (Matt. xviii. 2) whom Jesus called and set in the midst of his disciples. Defying the authority of the Roman magistrate, he was conveyed to Rome by a guard of soldiers, whom he calls "ten leopards."

b. Seven Epistles are ascribed to Ignatius, but of these only three are now generally reckoned genuine. Their doctrine is to claim very high authority for bishops. They also give early specimens of a style of *allegory*, which afterwards became very common: thus the Cross is spoken of as the *engine* which raises men to heaven, the Holy Spirit as the *rope*, and Faith as the *pulley*.

Polycarp.

10. The third of the Apostolical Fathers was POLYCARP, of Smyrna (said to have been a disciple of the

¹ For the spirit of this and the later persecutions, compare i. 66, 80, 169. For the feeling of the Christians towards the Emperor, see id. 230.

Apostle John), who was burned to death in 165, in the persecution of Aurelius, at the age of eighty-six.

a. An epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians consists chiefly of affectionate and pious exhortation, in tone like the "Philippians" of the New Testament. The way in which Christ is spoken of in this epistle is as "the everlasting high-priest, Son of God."

b. The martyrdom of Polycarp is thus told in a letter from the church at Smyrna. He had retreated from the city, by persuasion of his friends; but his retreat was discovered, and he was brought before the tribunal and condemned to be burned, saying, when bidden to revile Christ, "Fourscore and six years have I served him, and he never did me wrong; how then can I revile my King and Saviour?" At the place of execution —

"When he had said the *Amen* and finished his prayer, the men kindled the fire. And when the great flame blazed out, we saw a mighty wonder. For the flame made a sort of arch, like a ship's sail filled with the wind, and enfolded the martyr's body in a circle; and it seemed not like burning flesh, but like a loaf in the oven, or gold and silver in the furnace, and we perceived a fragrance as of incense or precious spices. Then, when those wicked men saw that his body could not be consumed by fire, they bade the executioner to stab him with a sword. And when this was done, such a torrent of blood burst from his side as to quench the fire; and all the crowd wondered that there was so great difference between the faithless and the chosen, of whom this man was one."

Other Apostolical Fathers.

11. Besides the Epistles of Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp, the following are included as writings of the Apostolical Fathers: —

a. An Epistle of BARNABAS says much of the distinction between knowledge (*gnosis*) and faith (*pistis*), and of certain types in the Old Testament, of which Christ is the fulfilment. Among these are the *scape-goat* (H. M. 241), on which the sins of the people were laid; the *heifer* (Deut. xxi. 3), whose sacrifice expiated the guilt of an unknown murder; and the number

three hundred and eighteen (Gen. xiv. 14), which is represented in Greek by the letters TIH—showing the Cross of Christ: for the letter T (300) is in the shape of a cross, while IH (10, 8) are the first two letters of the Greek name of Jesus.

b. The "Shepherd" of HERMAS is a vision, or allegory, in which an angel disguised as a shepherd is made to instruct the disciple in Christian truth. The Church is represented under the figure of a stately Lady; and again, as a Tower built of square and round (or irregular) stones, to signify the faithful and the worldly. The most important figure, however, is the Angel of Penitence, signifying the power of the Church to pardon sin, especially the sin of apostasy, or desertion in time of trial.¹

c. In the same group of writings may be classed "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," which was very recently discovered, and first published in Greek in 1883. It is a short treatise on the moral doctrine and ritual customs of the early Church, and in doctrine and spirit corresponds very closely with those already described. Its date is probably early in the second century.

NOTE.—It is to be observed that none of these writings assert divine or superhuman honors for Christ; and (what will appear still more significant) the doctrine of the LOGOS, or incarnate Word of God, is as yet unknown.

Bar-Cochab.

12. In the year 132, under the Emperor Hadrian, the Jews again revolted, taking a leader with the title BAR-COCHAB (*Son of the Star*: see Num. xxiv. 17), who for nearly three years maintained a so-called Messianic Kingdom in Jerusalem (H. M. 423). When the city was at length taken it was made a Roman colony, under the name *Ælia Capitolina*, and the Jewish nation was lost to history (A. D. 135).

a. The effect of this destruction upon the Christian Church was very great. The line of Jewish tradition was now com-

¹ The writings of the Apostolical Fathers are included in the "Apocryphal Testament."

pletely broken ; and we find, on the one hand, the rapid development of an independent *ecclesiastical organization*, and on the other hand the predominance and vast expansion of Greek ideas in the *growth of doctrine*.

b. In particular, the speculations of the Gnostics (§ 15) now claim, for about half a century, to be the true interpretation of the Christian Gospel. The doctrine of the LOGOS, or Divine Word (i. 50, 101), as exhibited in the Fourth Gospel, becomes henceforth the accepted basis of the Church Christology.¹

¹ Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* begins with a reference to the war under Hadrian, and contains (ch. 61-63) the first clear and developed statement of the doctrine of the *Logos* (see hereafter, § 20).

CHAPTER II.

THE MARTYR AGE.

TO THE EDICT OF CONSTANTINE, A. D. 313.

The Pagan Empire.

13. THE Roman Empire was a system of *military government*, partly controlled by a recognized body of law, and including a State religion which prescribed forms of religious homage to the Emperor. Although religious opinion in the Empire was perfectly free, yet, by refusing formal acknowledgment of the State religion, Christianity came to be regarded as treasonable to the State, and many attempts were made to suppress it by violence. Hence, for about two hundred and fifty years, there was a period known as the MARTYR AGE.

NOTE. — For the whole subject of the Religion of the Empire, and especially the nature of the Worship of the Emperor, with the relations in which the Christian Church stood to it, see "The Mind of Paganism" (i. 71-99).

a. In all, there are reckoned ten general persecutions. Those of Nero, Domitian, and Trajan have been already mentioned. The most important of the others were those of Aurelius (177), Severus (202), Decius (250), and Galerius or Diocletian (303-311 : compare i. 65, 92).

b. The time of chief splendor to the Empire was in the reigns of the *five good Emperors*, from Nerva to Aurelius (A. D. 96-180). During this time the *religion of the Empire* was most fully developed ; and hence, notwithstanding the just and merciful

character of the rulers, we find, under Trajan (§ 8) and Aurelius (§ 17. *b*), some of the most merciless acts of persecution.

c. During the years 180–284, the Empire passed under the hand of thirty-four different rulers, most of them military adventurers (“barrack-emperors”) of whom no less than thirty met a violent death by assassination or rebellion. The political disorders of this time were favorable to the growth of the Christian Church. The acts of persecution appear at long intervals, and turned on the personal caprice of the emperors, by three of whom Christianity was recognized as a lawful religion.

d. A new Imperial Constitution was formed in 284 by DIOCLETIAN, who associated three partners with himself, distributing the East and West among them. Under this new system a last attempt was urged by Galerius — a man of patriotic bravery, but cruel and corrupt — for the extirpation of Christianity. This final and great persecution lasted eight years, and was terminated by Galerius himself, who issued an edict of toleration in the year 311.

e. Among the features of the imperial system should not be forgotten the relief from local tyranny and strife (i. 86–89, 229–232), the serious temper of the Stoic morals (id. 75–78), and the humanizing of the Roman Code (id. 78, 79). At the same time we should have in mind, as part of the preparation for the final triumph of Christianity, the two sides of the *popular religion*, — its kindlier humanity, and its proneness to a fanatical superstition (id. 95–99).

NOTE. — For the special seasons or acts of persecution, see below, §§ 17, 21. *a*, 24.

The Apologists.

14. The defenders of Christianity in its conflict with Paganism are called the APOLOGISTS.¹ Of these the most interesting to us are Justin and Athenagoras, in the second century; Tertullian and Origen, in the third. The earlier defences were addressed to Antoninus Pius (about 150) and Marcus

¹ “Apology” means, in Greek, an advocate’s *defence before the court*.

Aurelius (about 175). The later defences were written during the persecutions by Severus (202) and Decius (250).

a. In these defences the Apologists had to contend against the imperial *system of government* (already described); the hostility or contempt of the *educated classes*; and the ignorance, hate, or superstitious fury of the *multitude*.

NOTE. — For these points compare i. 66, 80, 108. For the character of the defence, id. 62, 63; for the doctrinal opinions held by the earlier Apologists, id. 50 and *note*.

b. JUSTIN (who is called both *martyr* and *philosopher*) had been a student in the school of the Platonists. His writings are: a *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho* in defence of Christian doctrine (see § 12. *b*); and two *Apologies* addressed to the Emperor in behalf of the Christians under persecution. He was probably beheaded in Rome about the year 166. ATHENAGORAS, who was also educated as a Greek philosopher, composed his Defence (in the form of a "Report"), with a short tract on the Resurrection, at the time of the persecution under Marcus Aurelius.

c. The grounds of hostility, among the educated Pagans, were — 1. *Moral antipathy* to the severe temper of Christianity (compare i. 63, *note*): this is represented by LUCIAN (about 165), who, in his *Dialogues*, mocks impartially the Pagan deities and the Christian spirit of martyrdom, speaking of Jesus as "a crucified sophist;"¹ 2. *Mental repugnance* to the Christian system of supernaturalist dogma: this is represented (about 180) by CELSUS, whose arguments are known to us only through the refutation of Origen; 3. *Religious rivalry* of the system known as New Platonism, represented by PORPHYRY (233–306). This, as a system of thought, was learned and eclectic; as a method of religious life, it relied on ecstasy, natural inspiration, and practices which we should call spiritist or mesmeric.

¹ Lucian's contempt of the Christians, as fanatics and dupes, appears in a letter *on the death of Peregrinus*, a beggarly Cynic, once a Christian, who (it is said) burned himself alive in public near Olympia, about the year 168.

It was hostile to Christianity as a system of uncompromising dogma and of exclusive salvation.

NOTE. — The writings of Celsus and of Porphyry are lost, having probably been destroyed designedly by the Christians when they came to power, — a policy unfortunately too common and too effectual in religious history.

For the circumstances and time of the later Apologists, see below, §§ 19, 20.

The Gnostics.

15. The attempts made towards the middle of the second century to reconcile Christian doctrine with the speculations of Greek or Oriental philosophy, are known by the general name of GNOSTICISM.

a. Gnosticism as a *tendency of thought* had a powerful influence in the development of Christian doctrine, especially under the later Alexandrian School (§ 20). But as a *system of opinion* it was regarded with great hostility by the more serious minds of the Church; and it perished before the close of the second century (i. 55, 61).

b. The *general principles* of Gnosticism are stated to be these three: 1. The natural hostility of Matter and Spirit as the foundation of the distinction between Good and Evil (*Dualism*); 2. That the material universe was made, not directly by God, but by an inferior Artificer (*Demiurgus*); 3. That Christ was not a real man, living in the flesh, but a manifestation (or, as we should say, "materialization") of a pre-existent Spirit, incapable of sin, death, or pain (*Docetism*).

c. Besides these, most of the Gnostics taught that the Old Testament is absolutely hostile to the New; that those there represented as friends of God were really enemies of God; and that the Jehovah of the Jews was either an inferior Divinity (*Demiurgus*) or even an adversary of the true God.

d. The *opinions* of the Gnostics are known to us chiefly through the hostile representations, or confutations, of IRENÆUS and HIPPOLYTUS,¹ who wrote near the end of the second

¹ See the excellent account of these writers in Smith's "Student's Ecclesiastical History," pp. 95, 150.

century. The purely speculative forms of Gnosticism are best exhibited in the systems of *Basilides* and *Valentinus* (i. 58-60). The system of *Marcion* — which is Gnostic chiefly in the sense of being hostile to the Old Testament — appears, on the other hand, to have been a wilful or exaggerated individualism, taking its ground on the writings of Paul, and accepting only ten of his Epistles, with the Gospel of Luke (abridged).

NOTE. — For the general character of Gnosticism, in its relation to the development of Christian life, see i. 54-61. An account of the earlier doctrine of the Alexandrian Schools, in which this mode of thought originated, may be found in H. M. 370-375. Traces of Gnostic opinion have been found, or imagined, in several of the New Testament Epistles, especially *Philippians* and *Colossians*; and the Logos-doctrine ascribed to JOHN has a common Alexandrian derivation. For the Gnostic *Dualism*, compare the account of the *Manichaean* doctrine (i. 131-137).

The Clementine Writings.

16. Towards the end of the second century¹ there appeared in Rome a group of fictitious writings, turning upon imaginary incidents in the life of Clement (§ 7), the supposed successor of the Apostle Peter. These are called the CLEMENTINE WRITINGS, or CLEMENTINES; and they had a powerful influence in establishing the authority and constitution of the Roman Church.

a. These writings consist of *Epistles*, *Homilies*, *The Recognitions* (so called), to which were afterwards added *Apostolic Constitutions* and *Canons*; and, still later, certain *Decretal Letters*, asserting the authority of Clement as successor of Peter in remarkable terms (see § 50; also, ii. 16). Clement is represented as having gone, when a young man and troubled with doubts, to Palestine, where he met the Apostle Peter, lis-

¹ Or possibly later. But the above date is the latest that seems to correspond with the most plausible view of the circumstances. See the fifth volume of Renan, and Gieseler, chap. v. (4th edition); also, i. 70.

tened eagerly to his teaching, witnessed his wonderful miracles, — particularly his confutation and defeat of the pretender *Simon Magus* (see Acts viii. 9-24), and at length, by a series of remarkable and very touching incidents, found and recognized his own father and mother, from whom he had been lost in infancy. Hence the title “Recognitions.” In these the incidents differ a little from the same as told in the “Homilies.” Peter, when about to die, ordains Clement as his successor, with these words: “I communicate to him the power of binding and loosing (Matt. xvi. 19), so that, with respect to everything that he shall ordain on earth, it shall be so decreed in the heavens.”

b. The circumstances which led to the composition of these writings were probably the following: In the middle of the second century, under the enlightened Antoninus Pius, Christianity was taught in Rome chiefly as a *speculative faith* by Valentinus and Marcion (§ 15. *d*), heads of the two chief Gnostic sects (i. 70). In anxiety for the result, it would appear that some serious disciples made a journey to Palestine, to recover the earlier Church tradition from the remnants of the original Christian community still subsisting there (§ 6. *c*); and that the *Clementines* are the form, or imaginative narration, in which that tradition came afterwards to be cast. (See above, § 2, *note 2*.)

c. The especial hostility of the *Clementines* is directed (probably) against the doctrine of Marcion, as reflecting that of the Apostle Paul, who is spoken of as “the enemy” and “the man of sin,” and is thought to be caricatured in the person and arguments of Simon Magus. In particular, among the Pauline doctrines, are opposed — 1. His speculative Christology (i. 36-40); 2. His leaning to Predestination, or religious fatalism; 3. His doctrine of Salvation by Faith, leading to contempt of good works, and so having dangerous consequences for morality (compare iii. 29).

The Martyrs.

17. Christianity was revealed to the world, not as a *system of opinion*, but as a *moral or spiritual force*. This force was in no way more powerfully nourished. and the enthusiasm of believers was in no way kindl

to a higher pitch, than by the grateful, revering, or marvellous stories of the Christian MARTYRS, appealing both to their sympathy and to their imagination.¹

a. Stories of the endurance of Martyrs under suffering, often with tales of real or apparent miracle, — known, in general, as *Martyrologies*, — are common in the early histories. Narratives like those of Stephen (Acts vii.), memories like those of Hebrew martyrs (Heb. xi.), expressions like that ascribed to Paul (2 Tim. iv. 7, 8), such promises as were spoken to those in terror of persecution (Rev. vii. 14–17), are earlier examples. In the course of time the spirit of martyrdom became a passion (see i. 61, 169–172), and formal tests were accepted, to distinguish the genuine from the false.²

b. In the case of those who shrank from torture and denied their faith — who were called *the Lapsed* — there was often an equal passion of remorse, followed by great courage of endurance, moved partly by the extreme horror and contempt in which they were held by their fellow-Christians (see § 21. *a, c*).

c. The examples of Ignatius (§ 9) and of Polycarp (§ 10) have already been cited. The next in interest is that of the *Martyrs of Vienna* in Gaul, in the time of Marcus Aurelius (A. D. 177). This is told in a letter from the Church in Lyons, which speaks in particular of the courage of a young and beautiful slave girl³ named Blandina. A part of this narrative is as follows: —

“On the last day of the games, Blandina was again brought in, with a boy of fifteen named Ponticus. Moreover, they had been brought every day to see the suffering of the others. And when they would not be compelled to swear by the idols, the crowd were wild against them, pitying neither the youth of the boy nor the sex of the maiden; yet, though compassed with every torment, could not force

¹ Compare the spirit and tradition of military service: “Dead on the field of honor!”

² See the article *Martyrdom* in Smith’s “Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.”

³ It is to be remembered that many of the most cultivated and accomplished classes or nations — Greeks, for example, as well as barbarians — were in ancient times made slaves by the fortune of war.

them to take the oath. For Ponticus — exhorted by his sister [in the faith], so that the people too could see it was she who urged and strengthened him — endured all tortures bravely till he expired. But last of all the blessed Blandina — like a noble mother, who has cheered her sons to battle, and sent them before her as victors to meet the King — herself then, looking back on the agony of her children, made haste to meet them, glad and exulting at their departure, as if not cast forth to wild beasts, but invited to a wedding banquet. And — after scourging, after the beasts, after the torture of the iron cage¹ — at last she was wrapt in a net, and cast forth to a wild bull. And when the beast had long enough tossed her in the air, having no feeling of what happened, through her hope and holding on to the promises, at last she died; and the very heathen themselves confessed that no woman among them had ever suffered such things."

For the case of Perpetua in Carthage (told in the *Acts of Perpetua*), see i. 171.

The Montanists.

18. Among the most enthusiastic or fanatical of the Christian communities were those in some parts of Asia Minor, especially Phrygia; where, in the latter part of the second century, a sect arose called MONTANISTS.

a. The Montanists are often called the *Methodists* of the early Church. Their chief doctrine was the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit; and their leader was considered to hold the office of *Paraclete* (or Comforter: John xiv. 16, 26). They claimed the gift of *prophecy*; they insisted that they alone had kept pure the "liberty with which Christ had made them free;" especially they protested against the formalism and worldliness of the Church at large; and they believed in the speedy coming of the *Millennium*, or thousand years' Reign of the Saints (see i. 69).

b. The Montanists insisted on extreme severity of *discipline*. Sins committed after baptism were, in their view, unpardonable,

¹ A sort of chair, in which the victim was fastened naked, and suspended over fire, till it became red-hot, tearing away skin and flesh.

especially the sin of the Lapsed (§ 17. *b*). They forbade second marriages, and insisted that the whole Church was bound by their own rule of austerity. They encouraged states of religious excitement (*ecstasy*); and they differed from the Church generally in giving prominence and honor to *female leaders*: one of these, a lady of wealth named Maximilla, was very eminent for her bounty. The sect grew and spread chiefly during the persecutions of Aurelius; it was strong in many parts of the West, especially in North Africa; and it is condemned by a Council at Laodicea as late as A. D. 370.

Tertullian.

19. The most eminent convert to Montanism was TERTULLIAN, of Carthage in North Africa, who is commonly held to be the first of the Latin Fathers.

a. Tertullian (about 160–220) was the son of a Roman military commander, a man of eager, rugged, and passionate temper, by profession a teacher of rhetoric, who, after a somewhat irregular youth, was converted when near the age of forty. He was the author of very numerous writings, about half of which were written after he became a Montanist.

b. The writings of Tertullian are mostly brief compositions, uncompromising and often turbulent in tone (i. 68). Many of them are very interesting to us from touching upon almost every custom, opinion, and religious practice held among the Christians of his day. He is said, for example, to be the first who distinctly enjoins to abstain from secular work on Sunday; and he gives the clearest notion of the severity of religious vows among the Christians, as also of the natural vanities which some of them had not left behind.¹

c. In particular, his testimony is of great value, as given in two appeals² against the injustice of the cruelties inflicted on the Christians (i. 66, 168, 170). The most famous and important passage of his testimony is that which speaks (with some

¹ In *De Virginibus Velandis*.

² *Ad Nationes* and *Apologeticus*.

exaggeration, doubtless) of the numbers and consequence of the Christians of his day : —

“We are but of yesterday, yet we have filled every place among you, — your cities, islands, forts, towns, assemblies ; your very camps, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum ; we have left you nothing but the temples of your gods. . . . Even without weapons, and raising no flag of insurrection, but in mere hostility to you, we could wage battle against you by merely drawing ourselves apart in spite. . . . You would be horror-struck at the solitude in which you would find yourselves ; at the stillness prevailing everywhere, and the torpor as of a dead world. You would have to hunt up subjects to govern. You would have more enemies left than citizens. For now it is the countless multitude of Christians that makes your enemies so few : almost all the inhabitants of all your cities are in fact followers of Christ.”

d. Many of Tertullian's writings consist of exhortations to fortitude and perseverance in time of persecution, in assurance of the martyr's crown, and in anticipation of the glories of the resurrection. A considerable part of his defence is also taken up with vindicating the character of the Christians' secret meetings : they are not harmful, he says, or seditious, but grave and “sacred as a court of justice.”

The Alexandrian School.

20. The most celebrated class or group of Christian teachers in the third century, and in particular the most important in the history of doctrine, were those of the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, represented by Clement and Origen.

a. The teachers of this School were characterized by great simplicity of life, by urbanity and liberality of thought, and by an eager pursuit of knowledge : CLEMENT (160–220) being the more homiletic and practical ; ORIGEN (185–254) the more speculative and learned. The Alexandrian School is also interesting in the history of opinion, as inheriting the best traditions of Greek philosophy, and as attempting to rationalize t'

Christian doctrine by giving it a form in harmony with the most cultivated thought of the day.

b. The writings of CLEMENT are an *Appeal to the Gentiles*, a Manual of religious instruction (*Pædagogus*), and a miscellaneous treatise called by the fanciful name "Embroidery" (*Stromata*). It was his favorite thought to distinguish the true or practical from the false or merely speculative *gnosis* (religious knowledge). His characteristic doctrine was his exposition of the LOGOS, or Divine Word, as dwelling from the beginning in all true souls, — which doctrine, though taught with great seriousness and piety, has given to his School the reproach of an unsound liberalism.

c. ORIGEN was by eminence the great liberal scholar of this age. Being left an orphan at seventeen, by his father's death as a martyr, he showed remarkable courage as well as ability in undertaking the task of maintaining the family by hard work in copying and teaching. He was of vast and untiring industry, called from his hardihood the "brass-bowelled," and he suffered much from exile and imprisonment, dying at last from the effects of cruelty in prison; self-denying also to the last degree. He was a favorite and famous teacher, but from his extreme liberalism always charged with being unsound. "No noble deed," he said, "has ever been done among men, where the Divine Word did not visit the souls of those who were capable, though for a little time, of admitting such operations of the Divine Word."

d. The *heresies* of Origen (important in the later history of doctrine) were these: 1. Inferiority of the Son and Spirit to the Father; 2. That the death of Christ ransoms all intellectual existences, including dæmons and stars; 3. That all rational natures exist from eternity; 4. That there are ethereal bodies (of angels, etc.); 5. Transmigration of souls through various orders of being; 6. That the body is a prison for penalty of sin committed in a previous state; 7. That there will be at last universal restoration, and renewal of the cycle of existence.¹

¹ These made the topic of discussion at the Council of Constantinople in the year 553.

Cyprian.

21. The course of development in the Western Church, in the direction of *sacerdotalism and ecclesiastical authority*, which began with the Clementine Writings, had gone on for about a century, when it was greatly strengthened and confirmed by the work of CYPRIAN, Bishop of Carthage (248-258).

a. Cyprian was, like Tertullian, a man of near forty before his conversion. He was made head of the Church in Africa, rather hastily, within a year of his baptism: a tribute to his rank, education, general ability, and dignity of character. At the time of the persecution of Decius (in 250) he was persuaded to go into retreat. This drew on him the hostility of several who had opposed his election; and the hostility was increased afterwards by his severe discipline of the *Lapsed* (§ 17. b), and became the motive of much of the controversy in which he was engaged. He was at length beheaded in a revival of persecution by Valerian.

b. Cyprian's position was that of a somewhat haughty ecclesiasticism. His idea of the Church was that it must be *visible, perpetual, and one*: as a symbol of this unity, "the primacy is given to Peter." It was a logical consequence of this idea, as he held it, that the Church is *an institution to include civil society* as well as the elect, in opposition to the puritanic idea of the Montanists (§ 18. b), and of Novatian, who now held that view in Rome.

c. The authority of the Church, as Cyprian conceived it, included the power of pardon, or absolution (see John xx. 23; and compare §§ 11. b, 18. b, 86. a). In asserting this, he was strongly opposed by Novatian and the more rigid disciplinarians, leading to the *Novatian Schism*; but the opinion of Cyprian prevailed, and the Church is hereafter to be mainly regarded as *an Institution having authority*, not simply as a means of conversion and instruction. Hence the attitude, the service, the enduring vigor, and at length the fatal moral errors, of the Roman Church.

d. The view of Cyprian ascribed great importance and supernatural efficacy to the *Sacraments* of the Church. He opposed, as against Stephen the Bishop of Rome, the validity of baptism by heretics: both parties held baptism essential to salvation; but to one the question was, Shall we refuse it to any whose previous baptism is doubtful? to the other, Shall we tamper with a mystery so awful, or deny its efficacy in any case? The rule finally adopted was, *All baptism, right in form, is valid.*

Constitution of the Church.

22. Christianity was at first conceived as a "Kingdom of Heaven," having "twelve thrones" (Matt. xix. 28) and an earthly jurisdiction. This conception is still held in Cyprian's idea of the Church as *an institution co-ordinate with civil society*; implying, however, a distinction of *temporal and spiritual authority*.¹ Thus the Church became a "State within the State" (*imperium in imperio*).

a. We must try to realize, if not the *truth*, at least the *historical importance*, of this view. Christianity survived, not as a purely spiritual faith, but as an INSTITUTION, embodying more or less faithfully a system of morals and belief. The founders of this institution "builded better than they knew." It was as an institution, not as doctrine, that it came in conflict with the Empire (§ 8. a), and was able to maintain itself against the attempts to suppress it. In particular, the constitution and discipline of the Church, as confirmed in the time of Cyprian, fortified it against the attempt at its suppression in the last great persecution, which soon followed.

b. The further conception of the Church as an ARMY (as illustrated by Clement of Rome: § 7. b), implies besides — 1. A corps of Officers, or Clergy,² originally simply "Elders," chosen by popular election (afterwards by the clergy alone), the

¹ Paganism was purely secular, confounding religion with the State.

² The clergy were recognized as a distinct order after the time in which Clement wrote.

chief in authority being later called "Bishop" (i. e. *Overseer*) ; 2. A spirit of fidelity or obedience, which came to be considered the first of virtues, confirmed by the "Sacrament" (or *military oath*) and certified by the "Symbol" (or *watchword*) ; 3. The idea of the religious life as a Warfare, or military campaign, the adversary being either "Antichrist" as a personification of Paganism (compare § 5. *b*), or Evil Spirits (*dæmons*), who were to be expelled by *exorcism* ; 4. Discipline — often extremely rigid and severe — enforced by *penalties*, up to the extreme penalty of expulsion from the Christian body.

c. The chief SACRAMENTS were — 1. Baptism (including *exorcism*), sometimes private, sometimes on set occasions, when whole companies plunged at once, at the utterance of their vow, naked into large reservoirs of pure water ; 2. The Eucharist, or Lord's Supper, which was regarded (literally or figuratively) as partaking the Lord's body and blood (John vi. 53, 54) and as having magical efficacy in conferring immortal life (compare ii. 21). Both of the chief sacraments were considered essential to salvation. To be debarred from the Eucharist was the severest of church penalties, and was known as Excommunication. The "Lord's body," partaken in the Eucharist, came afterwards to be regarded as the physical germ of the believer's immortal body (ii. 21).

d. The conception of the Church as a STATE, or extended government, also implied *affiliation* and *recognition* among all the Christian communities throughout the Empire, with the assertion and general recognition of a common Authority, the highest authority being that of a Council, or Congress of Bishops accompanied by the lower clergy.

e. The FESTIVALS of the Church included — 1. Observance of the Sabbath (Saturday) and afterwards of Sunday, as a holiday ; 2. Christmas and Easter ; ¹ 3. Special festivals, or commemorations, in honor of Martyrs, leading to what are now known as "Saints' Days."

¹ Easter, celebrated on Sunday to commemorate the Resurrection, took the place of the Passover, which was kept in the first century on the 14th of Nisan (Ex. xii. 18). The change of day led to what is known as the *Quartodeciman* or *Paschal* Controversy.

Development of Doctrine.

23. The earlier doctrinal development turned chiefly upon the person and office of CHRIST, the tendency being to regard him as in rank more and more nearly equivalent to God. The language of the first three centuries, however, always implies a distinction or inferiority of the Son towards the Father, technically called *subordination*.

a. The Christian doctrine on its *human* side — including original sin, election, atonement, and the future destiny of mankind — was still loose and varying, as we see in the later discussion of the opinions of Origen. Regarding the nature of Christ, the line of orthodoxy was distinctly taken in the third century: the current doctrine being from the first embodied in the *symbol*, or formal confession of faith, repeated at baptism. A pretty well developed Trinity is found in Justin and Athénagoras (i. 50), and an extended Creed can be gathered from the writings of Irenæus and Tertullian.¹

b. The germ of the later doctrine is contained in the Messianic idea as developed by Paul (i. 37-40) and reflected by the Apostolical Fathers. But the true point of departure of speculative dogma is the doctrine of the LOGOS, or Divine Word (i. 50, 101, 102), which became fixed in Christian theology before the middle of the second century (§ 12. b), and was worked out in the Alexandrian School (§ 20). The highest expression of orthodox belief in this period is found in a treatise on the Trinity by NOVATIAN (about 250), in which Christ is distinctly called "God" or "a God."²

c. The office of the LOGOS was conceived to be a special work of redemption (i. 51, 52). This supposes — 1. A general *doom* of the unbelieving world, which is "everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord" (2 Thess. i. 9); 2. A *method* of deliverance, which (in the symbolic language of the New

¹ See Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," especially vol. ii.

² In Latin, which has no article, it is impossible to distinguish between the two: the word *deus* (simply) is used by Pliny (§ 8. b) and by Novatian.

Testament) is the Sacrifice of Christ ; 3. The *person* of the Deliverer, which hence becomes the most important theme of speculative theology.

d. The HERESIES of the third century are rather differences of *interpretation* than conscious *dissent*. The best known are those of SABELLIUS (i. 104) and of PAUL (of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch), both appearing soon after the middle of the third century. That of Sabellius was what is called a *modal trinity*, comparing Father, Son, and Spirit in the Divine nature to body, soul, and spirit (1 Thess. v. 23) in human nature. The assertion of Paul (who seems in character to have been ostentatious, arbitrary, and rhetorical) was that "the Logos came and dwelt in Jesus who was a man."¹ He was deposed in 269, and took refuge with Queen Zenobia in Palmyra.

The Last Persecution.

24. From the edict of toleration by Gallienus (A. D. 260) more than forty years had passed with little molestation to the Christians, when in 303 DIOCLETIAN was persuaded by his associate Galerius to attempt their suppression and a reconstruction of the Empire on the basis of the old State religion. Hence a persecution lasting (eight years) terminated by an edict of toleration in 311, which was confirmed by CONSTANTINE in the *Edict of Milan*, A. D. 313.

a. The suppression was attempted by four successive edicts : 1. That the temples of the Christians shall be destroyed and their scriptures burned ; 2. That their presiding officers shall be put in chains ; 3. That those who will not recant, and offer pagan sacrifice, shall be put to torture ; 4. That sacrifices and libations shall be required in every city. The actual persecution, however, must have been local, and even within narrow limits. Thus it was carried out with savage severity by Gale-

¹ So Lactantius (d. 325) says that "Christ is not a proper name, but a title of power and dominion." Compare the heresy of Nestorius (§ 31. b).

rius in the East, while under Constantius (father of Constantine) the Christians were protected in Gaul and Britain.¹

b. After the retirement of Diocletian (A. D. 305), dissensions broke out among the associated emperors, leading to civil war. A series of successes by Constantine (who succeeded his father in 306) was terminated by a complete victory over Maxentius, the last pagan persecutor, near Rome, in 312. The Edict of Milan, in the next year, gave entire freedom of worship; but the Empire was not nominally Christian till after the overthrow of Licinius in 323. Constantine, however, had relied in his battles greatly on the loyalty of his Christian soldiers. This is narrated in the legend of the dream, or vision, of a Cross seen in the sky, with the Greek words *τοῦτο νικᾷ*, signifying *By this conquer* (i. 112).

¹ The number of those who perished in this persecution, by torture, quick death, or misery, was reported as nearly eight hundred and fifty thousand, in Egypt alone. Gibbon's reckoning of about fifteen hundred victims for the entire Empire is even less trustworthy.

CHAPTER III.

CONTROVERSIES AND CREEDS.

TO THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, A. D. 451.

The Christian Empire.

25. CHRISTIANITY was declared *the religion of the Empire* by CONSTANTINE, in the year 324. From this time (excepting the short reign of JULIAN) it continued to be the State religion as long as the Empire existed.

NOTE. — The Empire was divided at the death of THEODOSIUS (A. D. 395) into the Eastern (or Greek) and Western (or Latin) Empires. The Eastern Empire lasted till 1453, when Constantinople was taken by the Turks. The Western Empire perished in 476; but was revived in 800, under CHARLEMAGNE, and continued in name till 1806. The theory of the Empire became an essential feature in the Catholic System of the Middle Age (§ 49).

a. The good effects of this change were — 1. Complete relief from persecution, and the toleration of religious opinion (till the suppression of pagan worship by Theodosius); 2. The revision of the Legal Code in the general interest of humanity and justice; 3. Care of charities and education taken by the State; 4. A check to the brutal sports of the amphitheatre — which were not, however, completely abolished till 404 (i. 178). The chief evil consequence was the rapid corruption of religion, from making it a motive or test in political policy or court intrigues, especially in connection with the great controversies that presently followed. (See, for the character of Constantine, i. 100, 112, 113.)¹

¹ The new Christian capital of Constantinople was founded in 324, on the location of the old Greek colony of *Byzantium*, and dedicated in 330.

b. The chief Christian writers of this time are EUSEBIUS, who wrote a Church History in Greek, giving many details of the last persecution (d. 342) ; LACTANTIUS (d. 330) and ARNOBIUS, both of whom wrote in Latin attacks on paganism or on the character of persecutors, and rather crude expositions of Christian doctrine addressed to the pagan mind.

c. Two great disputes broke out among the Christians almost as soon as the persecution was over. 1. The DONATIST SCHISM began (A. D. 313) with an extreme party in Carthage, who would refuse pardon or fellowship to all who had lapsed, and continued to divide the African church for more than a century (i. 173). 2. The ARIAN CONTROVERSY, respecting the nature of Christ, began (A. D. 318) with a dispute raised by Arius, a presbyter in the church at Alexandria (i. 104, 105), and continued, variously modified, for nearly four centuries (id. 194-196). In both these disputes the evil example was set, by each party, of appealing to the Emperor to suppress the other by force.

Council of Nicæa.

26. In the year 325 Constantine summoned a Council of bishops and other ecclesiastics to meet at Nicæa, not far from Constantinople, to decide the controversy respecting the nature of Christ; in other words, to determine the fundamental article of the new State religion. This is called the *First General or Œcumenical Council*.

a. This Council was attended by three hundred and eighteen bishops,¹ and of others enough to make the number upwards of fifteen hundred. Its sessions continued about six weeks, and resulted in the production of what is commonly known as the *Nicene Creed*. It enacted, besides, twenty *Canons*, or Rules of ecclesiastic morals and procedure, which may be considered the first formal exposition of Canon Law.

NOTE.—For the character and results of the Council, see i. 115, 116. The most detailed and picturesque account will be found in Stanley's "Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church."

¹ Regarded as a mysterious and sacred number; see § 11. *a.*

b. The compromise term agreed upon to express the nature of Christ was the Greek word (*homo-ousios*) rendered *consubstantial*. The NICENE CREED, as amended at Constantinople in 381, is as follows : —

"I (*we*) believe¹ in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things both visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten of the Father (only begotten, that is to say, of the substance of the Father, God of God),² light of light, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made (both things in heaven and things on earth),² who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, made man, suffered and rose again on the third day, went up into the heavens, and is to come again to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost [the light and giver of life, which proceedeth from the Father *and the Son*,³ which with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified, which spake by the prophets. And I believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church; I acknowledge one baptism for the ransom of sins; and I look for the resurrection from the dead and the life of the world to come]."⁴

The Arian Controversy.

27. A violent controversy, called the ARIAN CONTROVERSY, followed the announcement of this Creed respecting its exact interpretation, which was not officially and finally defined till the Council of Chalcedon in 451. In particular, and for more than half a century, the Emperor and Court generally favored the Arian party.

a. The test-word of the Arians, or semi-Arians, was *homoiousios* ("of like substance") for *homo-ousios* ("the same in

¹ The word "Creed" is from the Latin CREDO, *I believe*.

² Omitted in the later creed.

³ These words (*filioque*), representing the controversy on the "procession of the Holy Ghost," were introduced into the Western creed at Toledo in 589; they were solemnly ratified at Frankfort in 794, and still make the chief ground of difference between the Eastern and Western Churches (§ 81. *b*).

⁴ The words in brackets were added in the later creed.

substance"). Arius was in due time reconciled to the Emperor, who ordered his public restitution to church-fellowship; but just before this took place he suddenly died, with suspicion of poison (336). Constantius, who succeeded his father Constantine the next year, secured for some time the triumph of the Arians (337-360).

b. The chief opponent of Arius was ATHANASIUS, Arch-deacon and afterwards Bishop of Alexandria, who for a large part of forty years was in exile, and often in peril of death. He died, however, at peace and in his own bishopric, in 373. (See i. 117, 118.) It is probable that the sincere piety as well as fanaticism of the time was on the side of the Nicene or Athanasian doctrine; and that the Arian side was mostly upheld by the rationalizing or speculative temper of the Greeks, and that it was thus, to a certain extent, a compromise with the remnants of paganism (i. 110-112).

c. The death of Constantius (360) was followed by a brief attempt, lasting only a single year, of his cousin JULIAN ("the Apostate") to restore the pagan worship as a State religion. But Julian — a man of intelligence and bravery, but of narrow and pedantic temper — perished in a campaign in the East, and the Empire resumed its old course. VALENS (Emperor in the East, while his brother VALENTINIAN ruled the West) was especially bigoted and cruel in his support of Arianism.

d. After the death of Valens at Adrianople (378), in the Gothic war, THEODOSIUS of Spain became Emperor, and the power henceforth remained in orthodox hands (§ 30; i. 114, 120). By a series of edicts (381-389) the forms of pagan worship were legally abolished, and the pagan temples, altars, and images were violently overthrown (i. 127).

e. The general course of the Arian Controversy may be outlined as follows: 1. The majority at Nicæa (who are still "subordinationists": § 23) accept a formula designed to exclude Arius, being assured of its subordinationist sense; this is followed by the triumph of Athanasius and the exile of Arius, with condemnation of his writings. 2. The unpartisan majority relent; Arius is restored to favor, but dies; Athanasius is condemned and banished. 3. The Arian party, now dominant

(under Constantius), develop a more pronounced rationalism (represented by Aëtius and Eunomius), which causes a reaction towards orthodoxy. 4. The apostasy of Julian (361) alarms the Christians, who seek strength in union under the more orthodox symbol; the faith of the majority is developed by the great Greek Fathers (Basil, Gregory, etc.: § 28). 5. The faith of the majority is held in check by persecution under Valens (364–378), but orthodoxy finally triumphs under Theodosius, who summons for its sanction the *Second Œcumenical Council* at Constantinople (381).

Greek Fathers.

28. The century following the Council of Nicæa is the great age of the Eastern Church. Chief of the GREEK FATHERS are Basil, the two Gregories, and Chrysostom.

a. These eminent teachers of the Eastern Church are naturally found, following the lead of Athanasius, on the side of the orthodox belief. They delighted in interminable debates on subtle points of doctrine; they were men of great devotional fervor, humility and tenderness of spirit, moral courage, and austerity of life; and, in general, they exhibit best those virtues especially developed under oppression. (See, for a view of the traits and qualities of these men, i. 189–193.)

b. In particular, the piety of this period is strongly marked by *asceticism* (§ 29). This made the recognized pattern of the highest virtue, not only with monks and hermits, but with ecclesiastics of the highest rank; and its code was composed by the finest spirit among the Greek Fathers, Basil the Great (i. 190).

The Eastern Monks.

29. The most remarkable moral feature of this time was a passion for the austerities of Monastic life, known as *Asceticism*. This has ever since continued the leading characteristic of the East.

Church, and a very important feature in the history of the Western Church.

a. The first to set an example of solitary life was PAUL the Hermit, who was said to have retired during the Decian persecution (251) to the desert of Upper Egypt, where he lived nearly a hundred years. He was visited in extreme old age by St. ANTONY, most famous of ascetics, who (about 270) had abandoned his fortune and sought a life in the wilderness, whence he appeared (312) to sustain the Christians in Alexandria under persecution, and again (351) to support Athanasius in his controversy. He died about 356, at the age (it is said) of one hundred and five.

b. The occasion of the great development of asceticism was the sudden relaxing of discipline when persecution ceased. The strained and exaggerated temper which had sustained the martyrs, or refused pardon to the lapsed, now began to express itself in acts of fanatical austerity. (See, for the temper of asceticism, and examples of its austerities, i. 172-178.¹)

c. The original meaning of Asceticism is *discipline, as for military service* (compare i. 167). The forms in which it was practised were : 1. The *solitary life* of Hermits (*eremites*, i. e. "desert-dwellers") or Anchorites ("retired") ; 2. The *cenobitic life* of Communities, under a common discipline ; 3. The *monastery* (which came to be the prevailing form), or single dwelling for a community, each monk having a separate cell for solitude. A common fanaticism was that of the "pillar saints," who spent their lives on lofty pillars (see, for the case of *St. Simeon Stylites*, i. 174). The name MONK applies to all.

d. The communities of Monks in the Eastern deserts became very populous, including many thousands, and made the source whence vast hordes of fanatics, often wild and ferocious, might come at call to take part in religious strife (compare i. 127, 148, 197). At one time (375) the Emperor Valens attempted a forced enlistment of monks, as soldiers for the defence of the Empire (i. 180).

¹ Interesting full-length pictures will be found in Kingsley's "Hermits" | "Hypatia."

NOTE. — Some features in the discipline and organization of the Christian monks have a remarkable likeness to those of remoter Eastern countries, especially the Buddhistic monasteries of Thibet. This has led to a belief that Christian asceticism has a Buddhistic origin, of which, however, there is no direct proof. For the development of Monasticism in the West, see hereafter, § 39.

Theodosius.

30. The reign of THEODOSIUS (379–395) was the last period of greatness and victory to the Roman Empire. At his death the Empire was permanently divided: the Western portion surviving only eighty years, while the Eastern continued for nearly eleven hundred years, being also known as the *Byzantine Empire*.

a. Theodosius was a Spaniard, and showed the quality of his race in his valor and political skill, in his sudden acts of fierce barbarity, in his zealous orthodoxy, and in his servile submission to Church authority.¹ (For illustration, see § 32. a : *Ambrose*.)

b. In maintenance of the orthodoxy of his day, Theodosius called the Council of Constantinople (381) for the suppression of heresy and revision of the Creed. He was also prevailed upon to put to death several members of the sect of *Priscillianists* in Spain (385). This was the first instance, under Christian authority, of punishing heresy as a crime against the State, and was earnestly opposed, especially by St. Martin of Tours (§ 39. a).

Later Councils.

31. The later Councils of this period, including the Fourth, were summoned to fix by authority the interpretation of the Nicene Creed, against the *Apollinarian*, the *Nestorian*, and the *Eutychian* heresies.

¹ This view of the character of Theodosius is presented, in a very interesting way, in Hodgkin's "Italy and her Invaders."

NOTE.—The four Great Councils—held equally in authority in the Eastern and in the Western Church—are those of NICÆA (325), CONSTANTINOPLE (381), EPHEBUS (431), and CHALCEDON (451).

a. The heresy of APOLLINARIS, condemned at Constantinople, was that Christ had, properly, *no human personality*: the Logos being his soul, and his body being specially created of celestial substance. The same Council condemned the heresy of MACEDONIUS, which denied personality to the Holy Ghost (see Creed, in § 26. b).

b. The heresy of NESTORIUS (Patriarch of Constantinople), condemned at Ephesus, was that Jesus was not essentially divine in his own person, but was made so by the *indwelling* Word of God. Hence he refused to the Virgin Mary the title (beginning to be ascribed to her), “Mother of God” (see i. 151).

c. The heresy of EUTYCHES, condemned at Chalcedon, was that the divine nature in Christ *wholly absorbs* the human, leaving it inoperative. The formula by which the faith was here defined was dictated by Leo the Great, bishop of Rome (§ 37). Its essential declaration is that Christ is “in his divinity *perfect God*, and in his humanity *perfect man*” (compare i. 156, 186; also, the Creed in § 36. c).

d. In great part the discussions at these Councils were personal, violent, and disputatious. The following, from the proceedings at Ephesus, may serve as a sufficient example:—

“The most noble officers and the glorious Assembly said: *Why then did not the reading of the letter take place after your discourse?*—The most reverend Dioscoros bishop of Alexandria said: *Ask the other most reverend bishops, to whom the affair was committed, why it was not read.*—The most noble officers and the glorious Assembly said: *Say plainly whom you would have interrogated.*—The most reverend Dioscoros bishop of Alexandria said: *The most pious bishop Juvenalis and the most pious bishop Theodosius.*—The most noble officers and the glorious Assembly said: *First answer yourself why the reading did not take place; for they will answer in their turn.*—The most reverend Dioscoros bishop of Alexandria said: *I have said once that it was read, because I demanded it a second time.*—The most reverend Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeus said: *He lies.*”

And so on, for many folio pages. For the violence at the “Robber Council” of Ephesus (449) see i. 151.

Latin Fathers.

32. The three most eminent LATIN FATHERS of this period were Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine.

a. AMBROSE (334-397) is best known as a Statesman of the Church, and as the chief founder of *ecclesiastical authority* (i. 120). He had been governor of North Italy, when in a violent quarrel between the two parties he was suddenly called (374) by the populace of Milan to be their bishop. He was a man of generosity as well as courage, and set the noble example, when he became bishop, of giving his whole fortune to charitable uses. He insisted on ecclesiastical dignity, refusing to the Emperor his customary seat within the chancel. When Theodosius had ordered (390) a charge upon the populace of Thessalonica, in which near ten thousand perished, to avenge a riot against his officer, Ambrose refused to admit him within the church till after eight months' seclusion and an imperial edict forbidding capital punishment within thirty days of sentence. The Church of Milan claims certain dignities and privileges, in the name of Ambrose, to this day.¹

b. JEROME (340-420) is best known as a champion of monastic life in the West, and from his literary work in correspondence, and in translating and commenting on the Bible, in the convent to which he retired at Bethlehem (386), after ten years' wandering and residence in the East. He was an enthusiast for celibacy and the monastic virtues; a zealous, testy, and irascible defender of orthodoxy, "the watch-dog of the Church." His version of the Bible is the basis of that known as the Latin Vulgate (see i. 209, iii. 215).

c. AUGUSTINE (354-430) was a native of North Africa, a convert of Ambrose (386), and for thirty-five years bishop of Hippo (*Bona*) on the African coast, where he died during the siege of the city by the Vandals. He is called the greatest of the Latin Fathers. His writings are very numerous, and important in the history of controversy, — especially those against the Manichæans, the Donatists, and the Pelagians. (For the

¹ Its real independence of Rome was however suppressed under Hildebrand in 1065 (see § 60. b).

circumstances of his life, and for his character and writings, see i. 122-145.)

The Manichæan Heresy.

33. The Manichæan doctrine, which at this time prevailed extensively in the West,¹ had its name from MANI (or MANES), a Persian enthusiast, who taught a system of Dualism. According to this system, good and evil are contrasts *in the natural constitution of things*, as light and darkness, or spirit and matter.

a. The principles of Manichæism are found, more or less clearly expressed, in the doctrines of many sects down to a later day. It had been held by Augustine in his early years, but after his conversion he energetically opposed it as a system of fatalism contrary to the *moral* view of evil which is declared by the Christian conscience. (See, for this subject, i. 131-137.)

b. The Manichæan opinion is a form of Gnosticism (§ 15), giving special emphasis to the doctrine of *Dualism*. The system was developed into a rigid and ascetic discipline and an elaborate priesthood: the object of its training being to deliver the immaterial substance of the soul from the dominion of Matter as the source of all evil. But it appears to have led on one hand to fantastic superstitions, and on the other to immoral license; and it was justly rejected by the Church.

c. The Priscillianists condemned by Theodosius (§ 30. b) were charged with being a Manichæan sect. Other names under which a similar doctrine is found, are Paulician, Catharist, Paterine, Albigenian, etc. (compare ii. 179-181)

The Pelagian Controversy.

34. The chief controversy respecting *moral liberty*, or the *freedom of the will*, has its name from PELAGIUS, a monk of Brittany, who maintained this opinion against the Augustinian doctrine of Predestination.

¹ As Neo-Platonism did in the East, especially at Alexandria.

a. The form which the question took, practically, was this: *Can man, by his natural powers, take the steps necessary to his own salvation?* In denying this, Augustine was driven by his logic to a position regarding the Divine sovereignty and eternal decrees abhorrent to natural feeling, and familiar through the later form of Calvinism (see iii. 52-54).

b. The doctrine of Pelagius was developed by his disciple Cœlestius, and led to a bitter controversy, which was most active during the years 410-420. It was condemned by several local councils, and at length by the General Council at Ephesus, in 431. (For the questions at issue, see i. 137-141.)

c. As every form of government necessarily presumes the responsibility and free obedience or rebellion of its subjects, a compromise came about by which the Church as an institution accepted a modification of the view which it disclaimed in theory; and it has, accordingly, been always regarded as *semi-pelagian* in its moral creed (compare iii. 108-110).

Goths and Vandals.

35. In the year 410 the city of Rome was for the first time taken and plundered by the GOTHs under their king Alaric; and in the course of the century they had become masters of Italy and Gaul, while the VANDALS had conquered North Africa and Spain.

a. These earlier barbarian conquerors were not pagans, but were known as Arian Christians. The Goths had been converted by a native missionary, ULFILAS (311-381), who had probably been instructed by Christian captives, and who was made a bishop at Constantinople under Constantius (§ 27. *a*). He also served his people by bringing over the Danube a large body to live under the protection of the Empire (355). Portions of his translation of the Bible still exist, and are the first monument of the German family of tongues (i. 256).

b. It is probable that the Arianism of the Goths was not only the doctrine adopted from an Arian court, but was the more easily received because in this creed Christ took to them the place of *Balder* in their earlier mythology (i. 262, *n*). Its consequences were very important in history, leading to religious

hate among the barbarian tribes, and at length to the destruction of Gothic civilization by the Franks (id. 211; § 38. *b*).

Western Creeds.

36. The doctrinal belief of this period is summed up in what is called the *Apostles' Creed*, which probably took its final form some time during the fifth century.¹ A later and highly exalted form of profession is known as the *Athanasian Creed*.

a. The Apostles' Creed is especially that of the Western, as that of Nicæa (§ 26. *b*) is of the Eastern Church. Its name is derived from the fiction that its clauses were severally contributed by the Twelve Apostles. Its usual form is as follows: —

"I believe in GOD the Father Almighty, Maker (*a*) of heaven and earth. And in Jesus Christ his Son, our Lord; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried (*b*); he descended into Hell; the third day he rose from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost; the holy Catholic Church; the communion of Saints; the forgiveness of Sins; the resurrection of the Body; and the Life everlasting."²

b. The successive clauses of this Creed were constructed as a denial, or renunciation, of special heresies. Several of the earlier clauses, in particular, are aimed at various forms of Gnosticism: thus (*a*) at the doctrine of a *Demiurgus* (§ 15. *b*, 2); (*b*) the *Docetist* heresy, that the suffering and death of Christ were not real but only apparent (id. 3). The "descent into hell," — that is, *Hades*, or the Underworld, — for the deliverance of departed spirits (supposed to be taught in 1 Peter, iii. 19, 20), was a very prominent and important article of belief in the second century.³ The "forgiveness of sins" alludes

¹ See Nicolas, *Le Symbole des Apôtres*; also A. Coquerel *filis* on the "CREDO."

² A tabular view of the different forms in which it is found, word by word, is given in Professor Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," vol. ii.

³ See Professor Huidekoper's "Mission of Christ to the Underworld."

to the Montanist, Novatian, and Donatist schisms (§§ 18. *b*, 21. *c*, 25. *c*). For the "resurrection of the body," see i. 64.

c. The so-called "Athanasian Creed"¹ was probably composed some time during the fifth century, as a responsive Chant, or Canticle, to be recited in the Western or Latin Church. It may have been — though for this there is no direct evidence — composed to celebrate the harmony of parties in the Council of Chalcedon (§ 31. *c*). It is, in part, as follows: —

"Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith, which faith except every one keep whole and undefiled he shall without doubt perish everlastingly. And the Catholic faith is this: that we worship One God in trinity, and trinity in unity, neither confounding the Persons nor dividing the Substance. For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Ghost; the Father is eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal, and yet they are not three eternals, but one eternal; — so the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, yet they are not three Gods but one God; so likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy Ghost Lord, and yet not three Lords but one Lord. . . . The Father is made of none, neither created nor begotten; the Son is of the Father alone, not made nor created but begotten; the Holy Ghost is of the Father and the Son, neither made nor created nor begotten, but proceeding. So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts. And in this trinity none is before or after another, none is greater or less than another; but the whole three Persons are co-eternal together and co-equal. So that in all things, as is aforesaid, the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped. He therefore that will be saved must think thus of the Trinity.

"Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the right faith is that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man, — perfect God and perfect Man, — equal to the Father as touching his godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching his manhood; who, though he be God and Man, yet he is not two but one Christ, — one, not by conversion of the godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God; one altogether, not by confusion of Substance but by unity of Person. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and Man is one Christ, who suffered for our salvation, descended into hell, rose again the third day from the dead; he ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God Almighty, whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead; at whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies, and shall give account for their own works, and they that have done good shall go into everlasting life, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire."

¹ Called, from its opening words, "the Symbol *Quicunque vult*."

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHURCH AND THE BARBARIANS.

TO THE FOUNDING OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, A. D. 800.

Leo the Great.

37. BEFORE the final downfall of the Western Empire, the authority of the Roman Church had become firmly established under LEO THE GREAT, who is by some called *First of the Popes*. His administration, of twenty-one years (440-461), marks accordingly the most critical period in the history of the Papacy.

a. From the time of the division of the Empire (395) the Western Emperor lived chiefly not at Rome, but at Ravenna, on the eastern coast of Italy, where, still later, the imperial Governor (*Exarch*) had his seat. This circumstance is important in understanding the growth of the political power of the Popes: they held the only recognized supreme authority in the city of Rome and the neighboring district.

b. Leo the Great, a man of commanding personal qualities, saw the existing condition of things (i. 147, 148) not only as a priest but as a statesman. In particular, he seems to have been the first who conceived the possibility of constructing *a new political and social Order*, to take the place of that which was so soon to perish, on the foundation of Christian belief, and having its central authority at Rome. For the principles of this new Order, his epistles are a most important testimony (id. 157-159).

c. The personal courage and resources of Leo at this date were in a great measure the salvation of the city from immediate ruin (i. 152-154). In particular, by meeting face to face the

terrible Attila, king of the Huns (id. 233), and three years later (455) by intercession with the Vandal Genseric, he was regarded as its deliverer from the most appalling calamities.

d. The true work of Leo, as he conceived it, was in confirming the foundations of *spiritual power* in the Church. This he did in two ways : 1. By availing himself of all occasions to assert and maintain the supremacy of Rome as a court of final appeal — as in Sicily, Carthage, Illyria, and Gaul (i. 160–162); 2. By insisting, both in argument and by pressure of authority, on the form finally given to the declaration of faith in the Council of Chalcedon (id. 150, 156 ; § 31. *c*).

NOTE. — Compare the whole chapter on “ Leo the Great ” in i. 146–164 (chap. vii.).

The Barbarians.

38. Within about a century from the time of Leo the Great, most of Western Europe was occupied by conquering tribes of Barbarians, mostly of German stock. Their customs made the foundation of Feudalism; and several of them gave to the districts they occupied the names which have continued to the present day.

a. The following are especially important in the later Christian history : the GOTHs, including the East-Goths (*Ostrogoths*) in Italy, where their king Theodoric had a flourishing reign of thirty-three years, and the West-Goths (*Visigoths*) in Southern France and Northern Spain, the Vandals being driven to the south ; the SAXONS (*Angles*, or Saxon-English) in England, which they invaded in 449 (see i. 217) ; the BURGUNDIANS in Eastern France ; the FRANKS in Northern France ; and the LOMBARDS (558) in Northern Italy. The HUNS had been crushed at the battle of Châlons (451 : i. 157), but are asserted to have left a colony in Eastern Hungary (Transylvania).

b. Of these the GOTHs and BURGUNDIANS were well advanced in civilization (i. 211, 253) and were *Arian Christians* (§ 35. *a*, *b*), as were also the ruder and fiercer LOMBARDS. All were in turn crushed by the more ferocious FRANKS, who were

nominally *Catholic Christians* after the conversion of their king Clovis in 496 (i. 211), and were the unscrupulous allies of papal power. The SAXONS were still pagan, both in England and east of the Rhine, where they made the chief body of the German population.¹

Western Monks.

39. Most of the work of converting and civilizing the barbarian tribes was done by numerous companies of MONKS, acting generally in concert with the policy of the Roman Church, and under its direction and authority.

a. The first impulse to the monastic life in Western Europe was given by Athanasius (§ 27. *b*) in one of his seasons of exile. The earliest western monastic of great fame was St. MARTIN, a man of noble generosity, devotion, and courage. When a young soldier on horseback (as the legend relates), he had given away his richly embroidered cloak to cover a shivering beggar. The beggar then revealed himself as the Saviour, and led the young man to devote himself to piety. He was a zealous destroyer of idolatry in Western France, lived a long life of self-denying devotion, and generously protested against the martyrdom of the Priscillianists in Spain (§ 30. *b*), refusing communion to the priests who had consented to that horror.

b. Monasticism was first established as an institution in Europe by St. HONORATUS, who founded a monastery in a small island just south of France (*Lérins*, or *St. Honoré*), which long made the base of operations for monastic enterprise.

c. To the early period of western monasticism belong the following: St. SALVIAN lived in France and Spain, and has given the clearest picture of the moral traits of the Barbarians (i. 210); St. SEVERINUS lived long as a hermit in the woods of Southern Germany, where he was visited by the giant-youth

¹ For illustrations of the ferocity of barbarian character and custom, see i. 209-214; of the effect of Roman civilization, id. 231-234; and compare, for the general subject, Kingsley's "Roman and Teuton."

Odoácer, afterwards the Herulian king of Italy (id. 233) ; St. SEQUANUS dwelt in like manner among the rude population of Northern France (id. 216) ; St. GALLUS (*St. Gall*) founded a monastery near Lake Constance, which remained an important seat of learning for some centuries ; St. REMIGIUS (*St. Remi*), bishop of Rheims, according to the account, for seventy-two years (461–533), converted and baptized the ferocious Clovis king of the Franks ; St. PATRICK, of noble birth, had been left when a child by pirates in Ireland, where he served as a shepherd till he was moved to undertake the conversion of the island : he died about 492 ; St. COLUMBA, passing from Ireland to Scotland, did the same work among the Celts of that country, founding the celebrated monastery of Iona, where he died about 600.

NOTE. — The name “ Saint ” is given to all those religious colonists, the moral heroes of that period, who devoted themselves to what was then a most dangerous as well as a most necessary work. Their names amount to many hundreds, and their legendary Lives, abounding in miraculous tales, make an immense collection, in many folio volumes. (For the religious motive of this enterprise, and illustrations of its difficulties, see i. 178–181, 208, 214, 216.)

d. The *Rule* generally adopted by the Monastics of the West was laid down, early in the sixth century, by St. BENEDICT (of Nursia), whose religious house was at *Monte-Cassino*, in Southern Italy. (For the occasion and character of this Rule, see i. 181–184.) The Rule was further expounded in the writings of St. CASSIAN, and was developed into still greater severity and rigor by St. COLUMBAN (560–615), a British monk from the west of Scotland, who established himself in Northeastern France (i. 215).

NOTE. — For an exposition of the moral principles involved in the monastic rule, and its influence as organizing a peculiar ideal of the religious life, see i. 183, 184 ; ii. 133–140.

Cassiodorus.

40. The long life of CASSIODORUS, counsellor of Theodoric during his brilliant reign as King of Italy, marks the first important step in the education of t¹

barbarian mind in the arts and letters of the ancient world.

a. The life of Cassiodorus is generally reckoned to extend over a century (463-563), his manhood being given to public counsels till the age of seventy, and the remainder to works of piety and instruction. More than any other, he may be called the *educator* of the Dark or early Middle Age.

NOTE. — The "Dark Ages" may be most properly reckoned as the three centuries beginning with the fall of Rome and lasting till the middle of the eighth century. It was during this period that the services of the monks were of the highest value to Christian civilization.

b. THEODORIC the Ostrogoth (*East-Goth*) was a man of great intelligence and vigor, who had been trained in the policies and military discipline of the court of Constantinople (i. 233). As sovereign of Italy, he aimed to restore the prosperity of the ruined country, and to preserve what was left of ancient learning and art. In this he had the wise counsel both of Cassiodorus and of Boëthius, who was rather a philosopher than a saint, and whose "Consolations of Philosophy" are reckoned the last of the Latin classics. Boëthius was cruelly put to death on suspicion of conspiracy by Theodoric, who at the end of his life still showed traits of barbaric ferocity and superstition. (Theodoric was King of Italy, 493-526.)

c. The writings of Cassiodorus, especially his *Letters* written as minister of state, give us the most interesting picture of the condition of the time, and of the efforts then making to foster education and spread the knowledge of curious and useful arts (i. 253, 254). These labors were continued a few years after the death of Theodoric (526), when he served as guardian to his grandson and successor, Athanaric, and to the noble Amalasuntha, the young king's mother.

d. Chiefly in his later writings, however, we have the systematic attempt to put in form the elements of instruction, and to leave on record a full exhibition of the scientific or historical knowledge of the time. These were composed in a monastery of Southern Italy, during the years 533-563.

Gregory the Great.

41. The papacy of GREGORY THE GREAT (590–604) is a most important landmark in the history of the Dark Ages, establishing the Church of Rome more firmly than ever as the centre of religious and humanizing influences, and especially giving a powerful impulse to the missionary work of the Church among barbarian populations.

a. Gregory the Great (called also Saint) was of high birth and luxurious tastes ; but he was moved by a noble compassion at the miseries resulting from the wars in Italy¹ and the ensuing pestilence, to give his whole fortune to charitable uses, and devote himself to a religious life, ruining his own strong constitution by extreme self-denial.² He was compelled, at about the age of fifty, by the despair and urgency of the people, very reluctantly to become pope, which office, then of great labor, he administered most faithfully and wisely.

b. As his chief ecclesiastical act, Gregory protested against the title “universal patriarch” assumed by John (“the Faster”) bishop of Constantinople. He committed the great error of giving praise and erecting a column to Phocas, who had murdered the (heretical) emperor Maurice and his family. He effected the conversion from Arianism of the Lombard queen, with whom he corresponded in familiar letters. He gave great attention to the order, discipline, and public services of the Church, including music: the “Gregorian Chant” (developed from the simpler Ambrosian: i. 254; § 32. *a*) is to this day a witness of his work (i. 217–219).

c. During the disorders of the “Merovingian kings” in France (i. 211–213), the work of instruction there was directed

¹ The wars of Belisarius and Narses (under JUSTINIAN: i. 194), in which the Gothic kingdom under Totila was destroyed; and those resulting from the savage and desolating inroad of the LOMBARDS.

² Thus his ordinary diet was raw beans soaked in water; for while others were starving he would not afford the cost of fuel, which was scarce and difficult to be had.

by GREGORY OF TOURS, a friend and correspondent of Gregory the Great, historian of the conquests and of the terrible domestic annals of the Franks. Among other illustrations of the period, he has given a long narrative of the miracles which he testifies to have been wrought at the tomb of St. Martin (§ 39. *a*). The most interesting incident of this time is the retreat of the gentle queen Radegonda to a pious house, where, with her companions, and under the instruction of the poet Fortunatus, there was found a shelter for literary as well as religious culture (i. 181, 212).

d. At this period, only two countries in Western Europe were safe from the terrors of invasion, — Ireland and Spain; and both became, for a time, the leaders in civilization and culture. The Irish Schools were a source of much of the learning to be found in the succeeding centuries; and the ecclesiastical development was especially carried out in Spain. A long series of Councils held in Toledo served greatly to fix and define the Canon Law; and the ecclesiastical code of chief authority was that compiled and set in order by ISIDORE of Seville (*Hispania*), who died in the year 636 (see hereafter, § 50).

Christianity in England.

42. The conversion of the Saxon conquerors of Britain was led by AUGUSTINE of Canterbury, who, with forty monks, was sent thither as missionary by Gregory the Great, A. D. 597.

a. The Britons had been very early converted to Christianity, — as their own tradition said, by St. Paul himself, in his journeying to the West (Rom. xv. 24). A celebrated monastery had been founded in Bangor, Wales; Ireland had been converted by St. Patrick, and Scotland by St. Columba (§ 39. *c*). The claim is accordingly often made, that the Church of England is more ancient than the Papacy, and was from the first independent of the authority of Rome. But the Christian Britons, under their legendary king ARTHUR (i. 217), had been crushed by the Saxons “in twelve great battles” (§ 38. *a*), and driven westward, making still the Celtic population of Wales and Corn-

wall; and, where the Saxons ruled, Christianity had been blotted out.

b. Augustine with his monks landed in Kent, the south-eastern part of England, and went in procession to visit the king Ethelbert, in Canterbury. His queen, Bertha, was already a Christian, and he was easily converted, his chiefs following his example.¹ The policy of Augustine and his monks was to insist rigidly on the discipline and authority of Rome; and the British Christians, who sent an embassy begging their protection, were left to perish, rather than that anything should be yielded on this point.

c. The most interesting narrative connected with this mission is that of the embassy of Paulinus to Edwin, independent king of Deira, in the north of England. The answer made by one of his chiefs to the appeal is often quoted: "To me, O king, this life of ours is as when we are seated in a warm and lighted hall, and a swallow flits in from the dark and presently disappears in the dark again. If, then, any man can tell us in truth of the darkness from which we come and the darkness to which we go, let us listen to his words." Edwin was himself converted; and the attack on pagan images was begun by an aged man, who had himself served them as a priest.

Mahometan Conquests.

43. The history of Mahometanism begins with the flight of MAHOMET² from Mecca in 622 (the *Hejira*); and within a century after his death, which was ten years later, the conquests of his faith had reached their farthest western limit in Spain, and had been beaten back at the battle of Tours in France, A. D. 732.

NOTE.—For a brief view of the career of Mahomet, and the character of his religion, see i. 198–203.

¹ In St. Martin's Church, just outside the old walls of Canterbury, are shown the monument of Bertha, and the great font of marble in which Ethelbert is said to have been baptized.

² This has been, till lately, the established form of the name in literary English. The form *Mohammed* is now, perhaps, equally common. Other forms are *Mahommed*, *Muhammed*, *Mu'hammad*, *Mehemet*, and *Mahmoud*.

a. The Mahometan victories in the East began with the conquest of Syria and Jerusalem (634), extending to that of Persia and a large part of Asia Minor; so that before the end of the century little was left to the Eastern Empire except what is now Turkey (in Europe) and Greece. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks was however delayed till 1453, chiefly through the effect of the Crusades (ii. 93). The Turks held, early in the seventeenth century, nearly the whole of Hungary; and as late as 1683 had nearly taken by siege the city of Vienna (i. 201). Since that time, their power has steadily declined.

b. The Mahometan conquests in the West extended rapidly through Egypt, and soon included the whole Barbary Coast, the native Moors claiming kindred with the conquering Arabs. In 712 the conquerors passed into Spain, which they occupied with the exception of a narrow district in the north (*Asturia*); and then invaded France. Southern France seemed already to be subdued; but at the great battle of Tours (732) the Saracens were beaten back by the Frankish chief Charles Martel, and a final limit was put to their advance in this part of Europe (see i. 202).

c. The Saracen conquest of Spain made the seat of the powerful and superb kingdom called the *Caliphate of Cordova*, and afterwards the *Moorish Kingdom of Granada*, which for about four centuries was far in advance of Christian Europe in science and refinement. But the Gothic population (now Catholic), sheltered in the mountains of the north, soon rallied; and a fitful war, of extreme bigotry and ferocity on both sides, ensued for nearly seven hundred years, at one time (1064-1099) led by the famous military adventurer and popular hero Roderigo Diaz, called *THE CID*. The Kingdom of Granada was conquered under Ferdinand and Isabella, and the Moors were finally expelled from Spain, in 1492.

d. Among the survivals of the Saracen rule in Spain was a form of worship tolerated by the Moors, and adapted especially for the use of their Christian subjects, called the *Mozarabic Liturgy*. Great efforts were made later (about 1050) to abolish this in favor of the Catholic ritual; and the question was submitted to the Feudal tests of *ordeal* and *wager of battle* (ii. 41),

in both of which the Mozarabic form prevailed. It was, however, suppressed by the Catholic sovereigns of Spain; and is only permitted, on certain occasions, in the city of Toledo.¹

The Image Controversy.

44. The increasing reverence paid to images — including pictures, statues, and symbolic figures — among the Christians of the East led to an edict from the Emperor Leo III. (726), by which all “idolatrous” use of such images was forbidden. This led to a violent conflict known as the IMAGE CONTROVERSY, which was not finally appeased till near the middle of the ninth century.

a. The attack on images was, in part, the effect of the Mahometan conquests, which were merciless to all forms of “idolatry.” The Emperor Leo III. (i. 197) was from Isauria, a rude district in southern Asia Minor, and as a statesman no doubt abhorred an enfeebling superstition: in his soldier-life he had not been educated to any sympathy with the popular piety. His son Constantine V. (741–775) followed his policy with equal vigor. Their efforts were resisted by the furious fanaticism of a multitude of monks; and image-worship, often in the most abject forms, came in time to be a test of orthodox piety. It was upheld by the empress Irene, at the end of this century, and was fully restored under Theodora in 842.

b. The controversy respecting images extended to the West, where it was discussed with less passion and more good sense. A distinction was drawn between the reverence which might lawfully be paid to images or pictures as sacred memorials (*latreia*), and divine homage which might be paid to Divine beings only (*douleia*). The question was severally decided for the East at the Second Council of Nicæa (787), and for the West at the Council of Frankfort (794). The West retains (with its own definition of their use) both images and pictures;

¹ This permission was given in consequence of the patriotic and antiquarian feeling of the great Cardinal Ximenes.

the East permits the worship only of pictures, which are generally colored medallions in relief (i. 198).

The Venerable Bede.

45. The first name of eminence, after the deepest gloom of the Dark Ages, is that of the English BEDE, or BÆDA, called *the Venerable*, honored both as an historian and as the chief preserver or restorer of learning in his own day (673-735).

a. Of the great teachers of the early Middle Age, Bede is the next after Cassiodorus (§ 40),—an interval of more than one hundred and fifty years. He is best known as historian of the establishment of Christianity in England (§ 42); but his writings have a further interest, as our only encyclopædia of the learning of his day (i. 258).¹ He was, it has been said, "first among English scholars, first among English theologians, first among English historians. . . . In the six hundred scholars who gathered about him, he is the father of our national education. In his physical treatises he is the first figure to which we look back" in natural science. He says of himself, "I have always found pleasure in either learning or teaching or writing."

b. The death of Bede took place just as he was completing the translation of the Gospel of John. It is thus narrated: ²—

"The dawn broke on another sleepless night, and again the old man called his scholars round him and bade them write. 'There is still a chapter wanting,' said the scribe, as the morning drew on, 'and it is hard for you to question yourself any longer.' 'It is easily done,' said Bæda; 'take thy pen and write quickly.' Amid tears and farewells the day wore on to eventide. 'There is yet one sentence unwritten, dear master,' said the boy. 'Write it quickly,' said the dying man. 'It is finished now,' said the little scribe at last. 'You speak truth,' said the master; 'all is finished now.' Placed

¹ For the classical tradition during this period, and the great veneration paid to all the literary monuments of antiquity, see i. 249-253.

² Green's "Short History of the English People," where the date is given as 755.

upon the pavement, his head supported in his scholar's arms, his face turned to the spot where he was wont to pray, Bæda chanted the solemn *Glory to God*. As his voice reached the close of his song, he passed quietly away."

c. On the same year with Bede's death was born another Englishman almost equally famous, who became the great light of the French school of learning at Tours, — ALCUIN (735–804). He was the friend and correspondent of the great emperor Charlemagne; and was probably the author of the writings (which passed in the emperor's name) on the Image Controversy, as well as those which decided the "Adoptian Controversy" (i. 259–262).

Saint Boniface.

46. The German tribes, especially those known as Old Saxons, were converted to Christianity chiefly by the labors of several English monks, of whom the most eminent was Winfried, better known as St. BONIFACE, the Apostle of Germany.

a. Christianity had first been preached in Friesland by Wilfrid, a very eminent ecclesiastic from the north of England (678), and afterwards by his pupil Willibrord, who lived as a bishop in the Netherlands for more than forty years, till his death in 739. The Frieslanders and Saxons, however, still remained fiercely pagan, and slew the missionaries sent for their conversion. This was at length attempted in 716, for his life-work, by Winfried, a monk of Devonshire, who was made bishop of Mayence (or Mentz) under the name of Boniface. He perished by an attack of barbarians, in 755 (i. 219–223).

b. The career of Boniface brought him into close relations with the Frankish chief CHARLES MARTEL (about 724), while he was enlisting the confederacy which afterwards defeated the Saracens at Tours (§ 43. b); and from him Boniface received military protection. He was compelled, besides, to rely on the support and authority of the Pope, to whose claims the English Churchmen of the day were strongly loyal.

c. The language used by the German Saxons was partly kindred to the native tongue of Boniface; and the form of confession required of his converts is nearly intelligible in his own dialect. Translated, it is as follows:—

“Dost thou forsake (renounce) the Devil?—I forsake the Devil.—And all the Devil’s fellowship?—I forsake all the Devil’s fellowship.—And all the Devil’s works?—And I forsake all the Devil’s works and words: Thunaer (*Thor*) and Woden and Saxnote and all the unholy that are akin to them.—Dost thou believe in God the almighty Father?—I believe in God the almighty Father.—Dost thou believe in Christ the Son of God.—I believe in Christ the Son of God.—Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost?—I believe in the Holy Ghost.”¹

d. At the death of Gregory III., in the same year with that of Charles Martel (741), the new pope, ZACHARY I., came into power without the usual ratification by the head of the State. Some years later (752), when the descendants of Clovis were finally deposed, PEPIN (father of Charlemagne) was crowned King of the Franks by the authority of the Pope, and, as is generally said, by the hand of Boniface. This was held afterwards as a precedent, and was a marked step in the advance of papal power.

NOTE.—For the circumstances of Boniface’s death, which was in 755, see i. 222, 223. His work was continued in the following century among the pagan tribes of Northern Germany and Scandinavia by ANSCHAR, the “Apostle of the North” (id. 224–226).

Donation of Pepin.

47. The remnant of Eastern rule in Italy (called the *Exarchate of Ravenna*: § 37. a) had been conquered by the Lombards, and included in their kingdom of North Italy. Their rule—especially as Arians—was hateful to the Popes; and Pepin, as the ally of Zachary, having taken a part of their territory, gave it to be included in the jurisdiction of the Church. This is called the DONATION OF PEPIN;

¹ See the original form in i. 221, note.

and it made the beginning of *the temporal power of the Popes*. — A. D. 755.

NOTE. — The Temporal Power continued, with various modifications, till it was absorbed in the Kingdom of Italy, in 1870 (§ 144).

Charles the Great.

48. At the death of Pepin, in 768, his dominion was shared by his sons Charles and Carloman. But, the latter dying three years later, CHARLES reigned alone for forty-three years (771–814), with extraordinary vigor and intelligence, being the chief founder of the political system of modern Europe.

NOTE. — For some of the acts of Charles's reign, with the traits of his character and rule, and the circumstances under which he was crowned Emperor of the West in 800, see i. 235–244.

a. As a military sovereign and a champion of Christianity, the most important acts of Charles were: 1. the defence of his frontier against the pagan Germans, or Saxons, whom he subdued in thirty-three campaigns (i. 238), establishing several of his royal seats along the Rhine; 2. his wars with the Moors of Spain, which, though of no result in conquest, made him a half-mythical hero of the Crusade (ii. 80); 3. his conquest of the Lombard Kingdom in Italy, finishing the work which his father had begun (§ 47).

b. As an ally of the Pope, and of the political power of the Church, Charles confirmed and enlarged the grant of Pepin, making Adrian I. virtual sovereign of Italy. By the institution of Tithes he also gave an independent foundation for the revenues, and consequently the wealth and authority, of the Clergy (ii. 15).

c. The general services of Charles to the civilization of his day — as the basis of which he distinctly recognized the doctrine and discipline of the Church — are best seen in his *Capitularies*, or body of Royal Laws, and in his care for the work of education and religion (compare i. 238–240, 243, 250; ii. 10).

CHAPTER V.

THE CHURCH AND FEUDALISM.

TO THE REFORMS OF HILDEBRAND, A. D. 1048.

The Holy Roman Empire.

49. ON Christmas day of the year 800, at St. Peter's Church in Rome, Charles was solemnly crowned by the Pope Leo III., *Emperor of the Romans*; and is hereafter better known in history by the name of CHARLEMAGNE.

NOTE. — For the circumstances of his coronation and the character of his rule, see i. 235-244. This crisis in the history deserves to be carefully studied, as it has had a profound effect on the theory of church and state sovereignty, down to this day.

a. As early Christianity had exactly coincided in its spread with the extent of the Roman Empire (§ 19. c), and as the Empire was to men's minds the one type of earthly sovereignty (i. 229-231), it was natural to infer that the Church, claiming to be universal in its spiritual dominion, should have its representative and ally in an Empire equally universal. This was, accordingly, the theory of what is henceforth known as the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE (ii. 2; also, 264, 265). At this time — to simplify the theory — the throne of the Eastern Empire was held to be vacant, being occupied by the empress Irene (i. 243), who had caused the death of her husband and son.

b. The son of Charlemagne, LOUIS I. the Pious (or "the Kindly," *Debonnaire*: 814-840), was a man of many noble qualities, but of irresolute will. In particular, he was wrought upon by ecclesiastics, through his remorse for the death of his

nephew Bernard, who had been cruelly put to death for treason. In his reign a reform of great severity was attempted in the clerical order by the abbot WALA, a cousin of Charlemagne, a man of great vigor, craft, and ambition. Louis had given bitter offence to his sons by a second marriage (in 819) with the beautiful and high-spirited princess Judith, mother of Charles "the Bald;" and a rebellion of his sons gave occasion for the interference of the Pope, Gregory IV., under the influence of Wala, to dictate terms of peace at the "Field of Lies" (833). The peace was soon broken; and the Empire was at length (843) divided among the three sons of Louis, — making, roughly, the three kingdoms of Italy, France, and Germany.

The Forged Decretals.

50. To strengthen the power of the Church, among the civil disorders now impending, there were composed, towards the middle of this century, a series of documents, claiming to be Official Letters (*Decretals*) of some of the earlier bishops of Rome, — beginning with Clement as successor of Peter, — and asserting the supreme jurisdiction of the Church, and of the Pope as Head of the Church, over all secular authority. These were added, or prefixed, to the recognized collection of Canons and Acts of Councils compiled by Isidore of Seville, and are known as the *Forged Decretals of Isidore*.

NOTE. — For the motive and character of these celebrated forgeries, see ii. 16–25. They appear to have been first cited officially in the year 857, and their authority is formally defended by Pope Nicholas I. (858–867). Their genuineness — especially that of the Donation of Constantine — was attacked by Laurentius Valla, in 1441; it was more thoroughly criticised by Erasmus, about 1530; and it is considered to have been finally disproved by the *Magdeburg Centuriators*, a group of Protestant scholars and church historians, about 1580. Catholic historians, while acknowledging the forgery, plead the circumstances which doubtless justified the authors of it in their own eyes.

a. The most remarkable among these documents is the celebrated fiction of a grant from Constantine of the entire sovereignty of the West to Sylvester I., known as the "Donation of Constantine" (for this fictitious tale see ii. 9). The forgeries make in bulk about one third of the entire collection. They were appealed to throughout the Middle Age as of the same weight as the genuine documents; and were even added to from time to time, as occasion called forth fresh pretensions of the Papacy.

b. In the condition and system of the Church, as now confirmed by the authority of the Decretals, we find the following features, of indispensable importance as factors in mediæval Christian civilization: 1. The Church is recognized as One ("Catholic and Apostolic"), having supreme authority in morals and belief; 2. The Symbol of this unity is found in the Latin language, universal throughout Western Europe, and beginning to be known as *a sacred tongue*; 3. The Unity of Christendom is illustrated perpetually, to the eye, heart, and imagination, by the Worship of the Church, uniform throughout the Catholic world;¹ 4. The Ideal of the religious life, as then understood, is exhibited in the discipline and the special tasks assumed by the numerous Monastic Orders (see ii. 131-143; and compare §§ 29, 39).

NOTE. — For some features of the Church as an Institution, more or less distinctly shown throughout the Middle Age, see ii. 3-8.

Controversies of this Time.

51. The founding of the new Empire, with the impulse given to arts and learning by Charles himself and some of his successors, introduced a period of much intellectual activity, in which a foundation was laid for the elaborate discussions and philosophical systems of the Middle Age.

NOTE. — For a general view of this period of mental activity under the successors of Charlemagne, see i. 261-272.

¹ For an example of the extreme jealousy with which this uniformity was insisted on, see above, § 43. d.

a. The most important controversy of the time was that respecting the *Real Presence* of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. This was taught with great positiveness by RADBERT (*Paschasius Radbertus* : 801-865), a monk of Corbey, friend and companion of Abbot Wala (§ 49. *b*). He urged, in the most literal terms, that the Sacramental Bread is "that same body which was born of the Virgin Mary, died on the cross, rose from the grave, and sits at the right hand of God." The same doctrine was taught, less crudely, by other theologians of the day (Agobard, Haymon), and appears in the Forged Decretals in the phrase that the priest "with his own lips makes the body of the Lord." It was however opposed by the more rational theologians, Ratramnus (or Bertram) and Scotus Eriгена (i. 271, ii. 19, 21).

b. The doctrine of *Predestination* had been taught in terms of unsparing logic by Augustine (§ 34. *a*), but had been allowed to lapse into a compromise with common sense (id. *c*), which to more zealous believers seemed to abandon the true faith. It was revived at this period by GOTTSCHALK (806-867), a monk of harsh and gloomy temper, in the terrible form of a *double predestination*, according to which each man is individually sentenced from eternity to heaven or hell. In this discussion six of the most eminent theologians of the day took part, three siding with Gottschalk and three against him. He was silenced and severely disciplined by the ecclesiastical authority, administered by the powerful and worldly HINCMAR (archbishop of Rheims : 845-883), who has been said to be, at this period, the real sovereign of France (i. 268, 269).

c. The next discussion of importance was that regarding the *Dionysian Writings*, a collection of treatises embodying a system of mystical theology, ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts xvii. 34), translated and expounded by the most eminent scholar of the day, SCOTUS ERIGENA (i. 263-267, 269-272).

Nicholas the First.

52. The failure of the Empire to establish civil order had the effect to render the real government at that time *a virtual theocracy*, under the control of

able prelates like Hincmar. This condition of things made the Church's opportunity, which was seized by a series of able popes, chiefly NICHOLAS I.

a. The three popes who best represent the period are GREGORY IV. (828-844), NICHOLAS I. (858-867), and JOHN VIII. (872-882). These names may be held to represent three well-marked stages in the development of the Decretal System. (For the part taken by Gregory IV., see § 49. *b.*)

b. The position held in this series by Nicholas I. is especially significant: 1. in his appeal to and defence of the Decretals (Epist. 75; see § 50. *N.*) to maintain the papal authority, against Hincmar; 2. in his vindication of the sanctity of canonical marriage against barbaric self-will, in the case of King Lothair; 3. in his resolute attempt to establish the unity of Christendom by maintaining the ecclesiastical authority of Rome over the East, in the case of Photius (see ii. 12, 13). In the last, however, he failed; and the independence of the East was finally determined at the Council of Constantinople, in 879.

c. The importance of the work of John VIII. lay in his steady enforcement of papal authority, and in his attempt to restore vigor and unity to the Empire, by the coronation of Charles the Bald in 875, and of Charles the Gross in 881. The latter was deposed, either through incompetency or treachery (887), and the Empire of Charles the Great, in the persons of his family, came to an end.

NOTE. — For a general summary of the results of the decretal system, in this and the succeeding period, see ii. 24-26.

Feudal Revolution.

53. The divisions and disorders of the Empire, foiling the dream of a universal Divine sovereignty in secular things, led at length to a condition in which sovereignty was subdivided and individualized to the last degree, — any strong man being independent lord of so much territory as he could gain and hold. The condition and institutions of society

thence resulting are known by the general name of FEUDALISM.

a. The establishment of petty local sovereignties, each with its independent jurisdiction, was hastened not only by the subdividing of each kingdom among several heirs, but by barbaric invasions, which now began to be renewed, — in particular of Italy by the Saracens, of Northwestern France by the Northmen, or Normans, and soon after (about 900) of Central Europe by the Huns. The numerous invasions compelled the policy of individual resistance (compare i. 239, 246; ii. 30).

b. The features of Feudalism most important to Christian history at this period are: 1. Its *hereditary principle*, going to the creation of powerful families, with pride of rank and spirit of caste (ii. 33-37); 2. Its temper of extreme haughtiness, cruelty, and class hatred, with inordinate craving for wealth and power. In both these ways it was strongly opposed to the ideal and professions of the Church. (For illustrations of these moral contrasts between Feudalism and the Church, see ii. 40-51.)

Feudalizing of the Church.

54. The Feudal Revolution affected the Church chiefly in two ways: *directly*, by putting those offices of the Church which involved tasks of administration in the gift of local sovereigns; *indirectly*, by making the church officials subordinate feudal chiefs, with the lawlessness, the violence, and the ambition of the secular powers.

a. The authority claimed by sovereigns to bestow the offices of the Church is called the right of LAY INVESTITURE. It was probably essential at a time when ecclesiastical office — as of a Bishop — often required tasks of political government (such as taxation and military defence) as well as church administration (ii. 67, 68). It led, in course of time, to what is known as the *Controversy of Investitures*, and to a violent struggle which

was compromised in the "Concordat of Worms" in 1122, but which has often been renewed, down to the present day.¹

b. The moral effects of this revolution upon the clergy were extremely corrupting, blotting out for a time all memory of a different spirit and aim in the Church, and threatening to convert the clergy into a profligate political order, with the privileges and immunities of an *hereditary sacred caste*. (For illustrations, see ii. 52, 55, 56.)

c. It was against these two dangers — political subjugation and moral degradation (ii. 21-23) — that the churchmen of the ninth century had sought defence in the Decretal System, — forging such additions as seemed then essential to their object. Their scheme proved impotent for the time; but it was by appealing to this system, and even by availing himself of these forgeries, that Hildebrand (§ 60) at length effected the independence and partial reformation of the Church.

NOTE. — The period of Feudal degradation in the Church may be reckoned as having lasted, with a few short intervals, for about a century and a half, — from the end of the ninth century to the middle of the eleventh.

Degradation of the Papacy.

55. Early in the tenth century the Papacy came under the control of Italian princes (the Counts of Tusculum), and there ensued a period of extreme corruption in the government of the Church, which is sometimes known as the "Pornocracy," that is, the *Reign of Harlots*.

a. At this time Italy was already known as a country of Free Cities (ii. 259), which were more or less under the control of a feudal nobility. The last of the abler and better popes of the ninth century was Stephen VI. (885-891); and a few years later (in 905) the Papacy was occupied by an Italian noble known as Sergius III.

¹ As, for example, in the "Concordat of 1801," after the first French Revolution (§ 134), and in the "May Laws" under the present German Empire (§ 144. *b*).

b. For more than fifty years (till 963) the Papacy exhibited the disorders and immoralities of a secular court.¹ It was, in particular, long controlled by a woman of great ability and ambition, named Theodora, with her two daughters, Marozia and Theodora. All three established their own sons in the Papacy; one of whom, JOHN X., proved a vigorous and able ruler, especially in the defence of Italy against the Saracens. In short, the Papacy is at this period to be judged purely as a secular principality (see ii. 52).

The Saxon House.

56. During the latter half of the tenth century the dignity of the Church was in part restored by the German emperors OTHO (or OTTO) I., II., and III., of the House of Saxony. They held Italy and the Papacy in firm control, and were protectors of morality and civil order.

a. HENRY I. ("the Fowler"), first of the German emperors, had established his power by victories over a terrible invasion of the Huns (924-933), who remained masters of Hungary. His son OTHO (or OTTO "the Great": 936-973) came into Italy in 951, summoned by the widowed princess Adelaide, who had been despoiled and imprisoned, whom he rescued and afterwards married. As regent for her son and grandson, she afterwards proved herself one of the noblest of female sovereigns. Returning to Italy in 962, Otho was crowned emperor, and the title "Holy Roman Empire" was first officially bestowed. Deposing the unworthy Pope JOHN XII. (grandson of Marozia), Otho now settled by a compact (*pactum Ottonis*) the mutual relations of the Empire and the Papacy (963).

b. OTHO III. (983-1002) succeeded as a child to the short reign of his father. He grew to be a youth of fervid imagination and great promise; visited the tomb of Charlemagne, where he crowned himself with that monarch's crown,² and

¹ Like that of Charles II., in England, for example.

² The body of the great emperor was found still seated in his gilded chair of state, as he had been buried, with crown and sceptre, and a copy of the Gospels upon his knee.

devoted himself to the work of restoring the Empire to its glory, with Rome for the capital of the world. He died, however, at twenty-four, either of fever, or (it was said) poisoned by the widow of Crescentius, who had established himself in power at Rome, and whom he had put to death.

c. Among the acts of the last Otho was appointing as Pope his former instructor, Gerbert (SYLVESTER II.), who had been trained in the learning of the famous Saracen school at Cordova (§ 43. c), and in an age of deep ignorance was popularly thought to be a magician. During his papacy (999–1003) there prevailed a superstitious terror at the approaching end of the world, — which it was believed by many would be at the end of a thousand years of the Christian era.¹ As this crisis passed, it is thought that a marked revival of courage and hope took place throughout Christendom (ii. 56, 225).

Anglo-Saxon Church.

57. The annals of the English Church, during the disorders of the Feudal period, are illustrated by the names of the hero-king ALFRED, and of DUNSTAN, a monk of genius, ability, and political craft, who attempted a monastic reform in that Church.

a. The work of ALFRED (871–901), after he had delivered England from the terror of Danish invasion, may be compared to that of Charlemagne, in the encouragement given to learning, civilizing arts, and religious education among the people. He was piously instructed by his mother, and employed himself in the composing or translating of religious books. He is generally honored as the purest example of a patriotic and Christian king.

b. Disorders were renewed during the short and disturbed reigns of Alfred's later successors; and it is probable that the English clergy, though near in sympathy to the people, were as corrupt as elsewhere, and still more ignorant and gross.

¹ The extent and effects of this belief have been greatly exaggerated by several historians. The "legend" is fully discussed in the *Revue Politique*, etc., for March, 1878.

DUNSTAN (925-988), who had at once the genius of an artist and the fervor of a monk, attempted a reform on the strict monastic model, in which he partly succeeded. But he came into violent hostility with the Saxon kings, especially Edwy, whom he regarded as a lewd and insolent boy. He has fallen under the scorn of historians, and was long chiefly known by grotesque legends, which made him out at best a crazy fanatic.¹

Saintly Kings.

58. Among the moral disorders of the Feudal period appear the names of four monarchs eminent for piety and virtue, who are recorded in the calendar as Saints. These are ROBERT of France, STEPHEN of Hungary, HENRY II. of Germany, and EDWARD (the Confessor) of England.

a. The character and career of ROBERT (996-1031) belong to the history of France,² and serve here only as an example of this remarkable feature of the time.

b. After the victories of Henry the Fowler and Otho, the Huns, or Hungarians, becoming settled, were quickly converted. Their first Christian king was STEPHEN (997-1036), who labored to bring the spirit and institutions of his country into harmony with Christian civilization, and especially with the newly reformed administration of Rome.

c. HENRY II., who succeeded the last Otho (1003-1024), was desirous to abjure the crown and become a monk. When he professed obedience, by the monkish vow, he was commanded by his superior to serve by assuming the charge and duties of a king. His reign was devoted to the interest of justice and good order, as well as of the Church; but he is considered to have done injury by excessive deference to church authority.

d. EDWARD the Confessor (1042-1066), though justly called a saint for his gentler virtues, forfeited his dignity and duty as

¹ His true character is given in Green's "History of the English People."

² See, especially, Michelet's "History of France."

king in the interest of the priesthood that controlled his conscience. By his unpatriotic act of recognizing as his successor a Norman ally of the Pope, he brought upon England the great calamity of the Norman Invasion.

The Emperor as Protector.

59. From the time of Otho the Great, the German emperors became protectors of civil order in Italy, and exercised the right of appointing the Popes, or at least of making their own consent essential to the papal election. This state of things lasted till about the middle of the eleventh century (1048).

a. The sovereign who best represents this period is HENRY III. (1038-1056), — valiant, wise, and noble, whose reign was, however, disturbed by border wars, and darkened by anxieties and disasters which shortened his life. He left at his death a child of six, HENRY IV., who for the next fifty years illustrated all phases of the violent conflict that now ensued between the Papacy and the Empire (ii. 58, 69-72).

b. The position of the Emperor as protector brought the question of Lay Investiture (§ 54. *a*) into a new form, leading to a more obstinate struggle. The exercise of this power was no longer a usurpation, but a duty and a right. And it was gratefully accepted by the Church, when (1046) Henry III. was called in to put an end to the confusion resulting from the conflict of title among *three*, who on different grounds claimed the office of pope (ii. 57, 58). By his decision, Gregory VI. (who had bought the holy office) was compelled to abdicate, while his two rivals were contemptuously set aside.

Hildebrand.

60. The most eminent champion of the independence of the Church at this period, the restorer and upholder of the Decretal System, and the founder of papal authority as it came afterwards to prevail,

was the monk HILDEBRAND, later known as Pope GREGORY VII.

a. HILDEBRAND (a carpenter's son of Saona in Tuscany) had been secretary and friend of the deposed Gregory VI., whom he accompanied into France. On the appointment of the monk Bruno as pope (LEO IX.) by Henry III. in 1048, Hildebrand sustained him in demanding election by the clergy, and became then chief counsellor, or chancellor, of Leo and his four successors; then (1073-1085), as GREGORY VII., sustained the struggle against the Emperor with great intrepidity and firmness, till his death, in defeat and exile, at Salerno. The submission of Henry IV. at Canossa (1076) is the most striking incident of this conflict. (For the circumstances of this struggle, see ii. 61-63, 67-70.)

b. Besides renewing the controversy of Lay Investiture, the work of Hildebrand was to restore canonical discipline in the morals of the clergy, and, in particular, to enforce the rule of *clerical celibacy* (ii. 63-67). This policy was carried out with extreme and unrelenting cruelty, and at cost of a war, or crusade, in Northern Italy, in which the ancient privileges of that region (§ 32. *a*) were ferociously trampled down, under Pope Alexander II. (1065).

c. The two chief objects of the Hildebrandine policy — independence of secular power in elections, and discipline of the clergy — were established at a Council in Rome in 1059. Canonical marriage is so rigidly defined by this Council, "that no man shall marry a wife of his kindred, within the seventh generation, or as far as consanguinity can be traced" (Can. xi.; ii. 63). Of this period, Damian says that "the whole world is nothing but gluttony, avarice, and lust." Damian (d. 1072), the pope's adviser, a man of harsh, austere, and even morbid temper, and a fanatic in his monastic zeal, may be regarded as the head of the *disciplinarians*, as Hildebrand was that of the *politicians*, who aimed at the regeneration of the Church.

d. Incidental to the policy of Hildebrand was his zeal to set on foot a crusade for the deliverance of Palestine (ii. 72); and his commission was expressly given (id. 68, 79) to William the Norman for the conquest of England as a holy war. This com-

mission was accompanied by a consecrated banner, and a ring enclosing a hair of the Apostle Peter. The religious pretext for the Conquest was that the Saxon lords had displaced from the archbishopric and banished a Norman priest appointed by Edward the Confessor (§ 58. *d*).

e. In the time of Leo IX. (about 1050) arose the *Berengarian Controversy* respecting the Real Presence (§ 51. *a*), which was determined by authority in 1079 (ii. 190, 211), when Berengar was compelled to confess under oath "that the bread and wine upon the altar are after their consecration not a sacrament only, but the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which—not as sacrament only, but in truth—are handled and broken by the hands of priests and bruised by the teeth of the faithful." Gregory, however, refused (when urged) to persecute Berengar on his recanting this confession, saying that error should be fought only by "the weapons of charity and truth" (ii. 159).

CHAPTER VI.

GREAT AGE OF THE PAPACY.

TO THE JUBILEE OF BONIFACE VIII., A. D. 1300.

War of Investitures.

61. THE controversy respecting Lay Investiture led to a struggle lasting nearly fifty years and involving obstinate war, waged by Gregory VII. and his successors against Henry IV. of Germany, and afterwards his son Henry V., till it was compromised by the *Concordat of Worms*, A. D. 1122.

a. After the humiliation of Henry IV. at Canossa, he had recovered his power, and driven Gregory from Rome, to die in exile (ii. 70, 71). But he was weakened by the rebellion of his sons Conrad and Henry (who one after the other sided with the pope), and perished in want and misery (1106).

b. At his father's death Henry V. turned against the Pope (PASCAL II.), who was taken prisoner, and compelled to concede "to his dearest son, King Henry," all the imperial rights, including the appointment of bishops and abbots (1111). This concession, however, was revoked the next year, as "not a privilege but a *præiudicium*, extorted by the violence of King Henry." At Worms, in 1122, a compromise was agreed upon between the emperor and Calixtus II., by which the prince might bestow the sceptre, or staff of temporal authority; but the crozier and ring, signs of spiritual union and trust, must be bestowed by the Church.

c. The *First Lateran Council* (1123),¹ besides confirming the Concordat of Worms, declared "remission of sins" to the Crusaders, with assurance of protection to their goods and families. It also denounced anathema against violators of the Truce of God (ii. 41, 97), and against the despoiling of Pilgrims. Later popes, however, declared that the Concordat was only a personal agreement between Calixtus and Henry, and refused to be bound by its terms (ii. 72, 73).

The Crusades.

62. The CRUSADES were a series of religious wars waged by the sanction of successive popes, and extending over a period of about two hundred years (1095–1291), for the rescue of Palestine from its Mahometan conquerors, the Saracens;² or, in the phrase of the time, to deliver the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of Infidels.

a. The *First Crusade*, led by the hero GODFREY, captured the city of Jerusalem by assault, in July, 1099, and established a Christian kingdom in Palestine, which lasted till Jerusalem was retaken by the Saracens under Saladin, in 1187.

b. A crusade for the deliverance of Palestine had been urged as a pious duty about a hundred years before, by Sylvester II. (§ 56. c), and further pressed by Hildebrand (§ 60. d). The theory of universal dominion, moreover, asserted by the Church, implied the right, or duty, of universal conquest (ii. 79, 80).

c. The imagination and sympathy of Christian nations had been also appealed to by *Peter the Hermit*, who stirred a great passion of popular enthusiasm (ii. 92); and, near the same time, the Greek emperor Alexis, in despair of his dominion, entreated, in an eloquent address, the aid of Western powers (id. 93). The pope, Urban II., a zealous disciple of Hilde-

¹ The Lateran Church of St. John the Baptist is the Pope's own "parish church" in Rome. Here a series of four Councils were held.

² The name "Crusade" is taken from the figure of the Cross (*crux*) which was marked on the armor and banners of the Crusaders.

brand, at Piacenza in Italy, and afterwards at Clermont in France, proclaimed the need and duty of a holy war (1095 : see portions of his address, id. 94).

d. A promiscuous crowd of men, women, and children, said to amount to 300,000, had followed the fanatic Peter the Hermit as far as Asia Minor, where a small remnant of them perished at Nicæa (ii. 81). But a great army—it is said, of 600,000—under the lead of several Feudal princes marched by way of Constantinople as far as Palestine, where their chief, Godfrey, was crowned King of Jerusalem, in 1099. (For the spirit of the adventure, and incidents of the assault, see ii. 88.)

e. A *Second Crusade* was preached in 1147 by St. Bernard (§ 63), the most famous and influential monastic of the period, when the safety of the Christian kingdom began to be seriously threatened (ii. 82, 145, 146), but returned, having met only with disaster.

f. The fall of Jerusalem, in 1187, was followed by the *Third Crusade*, led by the great emperor Frederick Barbarossa, with Richard of England and Philip of France ; but was fruitless through the death of Barbarossa, and discord among the other leaders. * Later Crusades were only discreditable and disastrous adventures. (See the summary, ii. 84, *note*.)

The Great Monastics.

63. The influence of the *Religious Orders* was at its height during the first half of the Twelfth Century, and was exercised by a group, or series, of remarkable men, of whom the most eminent and powerful was St. BERNARD.

NOTE.—For the general subject of the Religious Orders, their spirit and influence at this period, see ii. 131–147 ; and for the reaction that followed, with its causes, id. 147–151. These general causes, however, should be connected with the influence of that independent movement of thought which appears in the “Heresies” of the Twelfth Century : id. 165–172 ; § 64.

a. The most eminent names of this group are those of ROBERT (of Molesme : 1018–1110), founder of the *Cisterci*

Order in 1098; NORBERT (1080–1134), a stern and rigid ecclesiastic, founder of the *Præmonstrants* in 1120; SUGER (1081–1151), abbot of St. Denis near Paris, and counsellor of the King of France (compare ii. 234, 241); BERNARD (1091–1153), founder of the religious house at *Clairvaux* in 1115, counsellor of several popes, champion of church authority against heresy, preacher of the Second Crusade, and a sort of “moral dictator” in Europe at the time of his chief influence (see ii. 144–147); and PETER “the Venerable” (1092–1156), of kindlier temper than any other, who was made abbot of Cluny at the age of twenty-eight, friend both of Bernard and of his famous opponent Abelard (ii. 171, 215, 216).

b. The monastic spirit had become dominant in the Church by the reforms of Hildebrand (ii. 63–67), and it defined the aims of the spiritual power under most of his successors. As a *moral force*, it was most powerful during the lives of these great monastics, who were ambitious of no office or authority except that of their Order. After their death, the *political motive* appears more and more in the conduct of the popes, who found themselves engaged in a closer struggle both with their political rivals and with the increasing spread of free thought, or heresy. Accordingly the great age of the Papacy, as a spiritual power, may be considered to have culminated early in this century, and to have distinctly declined before its end (ii. 26, 158, 237–240).

Heretics.

64. The Twelfth Century is signalized by a widespread and powerful movement of independent thought, violently opposed by the authorities of the Church under the name of *heresy*, and at length crushed by a vigilant and unrelenting system of religious persecution.

NOTE. — See, in reference to this subject, the entire chapter on “Heretics:” ii. 158–188.

a. The earliest manifestations of free thought were in *theological debate* in the schools, proceeding from the point raised in

the Berengarian controversy on the Real Presence (§ 60. *e*; ii. 190, 211). The speculative and combative temper of ABELARD (id. 146, 215–217) led him to express many opinions which were formally condemned as heretical, — as, that the Spirit is not of the Divine nature, but is “soul of the world;” that Christ did not take flesh to free us from the yoke of the Devil; that those did not sin who crucified him ignorantly; that the Persons of the Godhead may be compared to the three propositions which make one syllogism, — and which put him in danger of being burned for heresy.

b. The next manifestation of free thought is as a *popular religious reform*, led by the zealous enthusiasts PETER of Bruys and HENRY of Lausanne (ii. 167–175). This was a protest against the sacerdotalism of the Church, its theory of sacraments, and an official priesthood. Peter was burned to death by a mob of monastics (about 1120), and Henry was silenced and imprisoned till his death in 1147.

c. The popular enthusiasm stirred by these reformers became the source of a *religious patriotism* in the Italian towns, and of a political movement headed by ARNOLD of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard, who succeeded in maintaining for nine years a republic in Rome, till he was betrayed into the hands of Frederick Barbarossa, and put to death by Pope Adrian IV. in 1155 (ii. 175, 176, 261). He is reckoned, by the Second Lateran Council (§ 65. *a*),¹ among “those who, assuming a form of godliness, reject the baptism of children, the priesthood and other orders in the Church, and the lawful bonds of matrimony” (that is, marriage as a sacrament).

d. The most formidable of independent religious movements were those of the ALBIGENSES and WALDENSES, both including large populations, and organized into powerful sects (ii. 178–184). The former was especially dreaded from its Eastern affiliations, and as a revival of the Manichæan heresy (§ 33); as also from the strength of its discipline, and its power to kindle a reckless fanaticism. The other became the source of an evangelical faith preserved, with extreme courage, tenacity, and devotion, for

¹ Repeating a formula employed in a Council at *Toulouse*, in 1119, against Peter of Bruys.

many centuries in the Alpine valleys, and subsisting there among some religious communities to this day (see § 67. c).

Persecution of Heretics.

65. By the theory of the Catholic Empire, heresy was not only a sin against the Church, by denial of the Creed, but a political crime, involving conspiracy and rebellion. On this ground it became the policy of the Church to engage the powers of the State for its suppression. This policy was developed in a series of Councils beginning near the middle of the Twelfth Century.

a. The *Second Lateran Council* (1139), in condemning the doctrine of Arnold of Brescia (§ 64. c), had simply enjoined that its followers or defenders should be "suppressed by outside powers." The movement under Arnold, however, was chiefly political, and his death is hardly to be held an act of religious persecution. The condemnation of Abelard and Arnold at Sens, in 1140, only requires that they be "confined" and their books destroyed (ii. 146).

b. A *Council at Tours*, in 1163,¹ after describing the spread of the Albigensian heresy in the south of France, denounces : 1. anathema, or the Church's curse ; 2. that no shelter or retreat is to be allowed the heretics ; 3. that there shall be no traffic with them ; 4. that they are to be imprisoned and deprived of their goods ; 5. that their places of assembly are to be diligently searched out, and their worship suppressed.

c. The *Third Lateran Council* (1179), after reciting a list of places and sects declared heretical, adds to them the names of certain marauders and freebooters who are included under the same penalty, directs that their goods be confiscated, and gives permission "to princes, to reduce men of that sort to slavery" (ii. 185, 186).

¹ The same which was attended in great pomp by Becket, as chancellor of Henry II. of England.

d. The *Fourth Lateran Council* (1215), held during the Albigensian Crusade (§ 67. c), appoints commissions "of three or more good men" to search out heretics, laying down rules of "inquisition," or inquest. These rules made the foundation of what came afterwards to be known as the "Holy Office of Inquisition."

e. At a Council held in Padua, in 1243, the Emperor FREDERICK II., seeking the alliance of the Church against rebels in his dominion of South Italy, consents to put in execution the decrees against heretics, with the penalty "that they be burned alive in the sight of men" (ii. 187). So long as the policy of persecution continued, this was the recognized punishment of heresy.

Alexander III.

66. The most eminent and heroic defender of the claims of the Church against the Empire was ALEXANDER III., whose long papacy of twenty-two years (1159-1181) was almost wholly occupied by the conflict against Frederick Barbarossa, greatest of the German emperors.

a. Frederick had asserted his imperial rights in Italy at the *Diet of Roncaglia*, in 1154, and had aided Adrian IV., the following year, to suppress the Republic and bring about the death of Arnold. Many of the Italian cities, however, renounced his authority, and defended their liberties by the "Lombard League" in a war of twenty years, in which they found a steady champion in the Pope. Frederick sustained against him four rival popes successively, and kept him for many years in exile from Italy; but was forced to yield and submit himself to Alexander in the *Capitulation of Venice*, in 1177 (ii. 73, 257-261), confirmed by the *Treaty of Constance* in 1183.

b. The unrelenting policy of Alexander is seen especially in the action taken against heresy in the *Council of Tours* and the *Third Lateran Council*, both of which were summoned by him. The last, in particular, held in the twentieth year of his papacy, was designed to give sanction and effect to his whole administration relating to this subject.

c. A conspicuous act of Alexander's policy was his support of THOMAS BECKET, Archbishop of Canterbury, and former Chancellor of Henry II. The disorder in England was such, that in the first ten years of Henry's reign a hundred ecclesiastics, under charge of murder, had been taken from the secular courts on "privilege of clergy." To remedy this disorder the *Constitutions of Clarendon* were enacted (1164), setting limits to church privilege. Becket had taken oath to support these enactments, saying, "It is God's will that I incur perjury; for the present I submit and incur perjury, to repent of it hereafter as I best may." Alexander absolved him of his oath, and he maintained active resistance to Henry for six years, remaining in exile in France. Shortly after his return to England he was murdered in the cathedral at Canterbury, where he was afterwards greatly revered as a saint.

NOTE. — It is to be observed, as marking the temper of the time, that both these able and strong-willed sovereigns, Frederick Barbarossa and Henry Plantagenet, were weak at heart through awe of the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope. Barbarossa expiated the guilt of his resistance by taking the cross of the Crusade, in which he perished (§ 62. f); and Henry submitted to the most abject penance for the crime of his officers in Becket's murder.

Innocent III.

67. The period of greatest splendor and breadth to the Papacy as a political power was during the term of INNOCENT III. (1198–1216). The conquest of Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade made him nominally head of the Eastern as well as of the Western Church, while civil troubles in Europe gave into his hands the disposal of the imperial and of several royal crowns.

a. The chief event of Innocent's term was the *Fourth Crusade* (1204). This, by craft of the Venetians, who furnished the fleet, was turned to the assault and capture of Constantinople, where a Latin empire was established, lasting not quite sixty years. Innocent was compelled to assent to an act taken against his judgment and orders; but he eagerly pressed the

outfit of another expedition for the re-conquest of Palestine, and died at fifty-six, while it was getting under way (ii. 74, 83).

b. Claiming to be umpire among kings, and disposer of temporal sovereignty, Innocent assumed guardianship of the young Frederick, grandson of Barbarossa and heir of Sicily, deciding also between the claimants of the Empire. The king of Arragon yielded to him his royal authority, receiving it back as the pope's vassal. Innocent further sustained King John of England against his barons, denouncing the *Magna Charta* (1215), John declaring himself, in return, a subject of the Pope. The crown of South Italy and that of Hungary were also held in subjection to Innocent.

c. The most tragic and memorable event of this period was the *Albigensian Crusade*. This began in 1208 with acts of Innocent in retaliation for the murder of his envoy, and soon became a deadly civil war, lasting more than twenty years, and resulting in the ruthless devastation of nearly all Southern France. The most ferocious acts of fanatics and marauders were officially sanctioned by Innocent, who offered that country as the prize of conquest to the chief who should seize it from its heretic population and its hereditary sovereign, the Count of Toulouse (ii. 99, 177, 187).

d. At the *Fourth Lateran Council* (1215) the doctrine of Transubstantiation was formally registered as part of the Catholic creed (ii. 211-216; see §§ 51. *a*, 60. *e*).

The Mendicant Orders.

68. The most important act of papal authority during the term of Innocent III. was the founding of the religious Orders of Dominicans and Franciscans. From the character of their organization, having neither fixed abodes nor regular sources of income, these are called the MENDICANT ORDERS.

a. The *Dominicans*, or Black Friars, were enlisted and organized by DOMINIC, a young Spanish monk, who wished to oppose the heretics of Southern France by the example of superior devotion and austerity. This Order were especial

commissioned as Preachers, and were a powerful support of the pope in the Albigensian Crusade. They were intrusted, in particular, with the detection of heresy, and were a little later made the official agents of the Inquisition (§ 65. *d*; ii. 152).

b. The *Franciscans*, or Gray Friars, were founded by FRANCIS of Assisi, a young Italian ascetic of singular fervor and enthusiasm. The name *Minorites* was also assumed by them in humility, and they professed the doctrine of absolute renunciation, under the name "poverty of Christ." Their office was chiefly among the poor and ignorant, where they almost wholly superseded the official clergy (ii. 153-156).

NOTE. — For the circumstances which preceded the great popular movement represented by these Orders, see ii. 147-151.

Scholastic Theology.

69. The earlier discussions growing out of the controversy raised by Berengar had resulted, about the middle of the Twelfth Century, in the formation of a received body of Catholic doctrine; which was further developed, in the following century, into a system generally known as SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY.

a. The first distinguished adversary of Berengar was LANFRANC, an Italian by birth, who had entered as a monk the monastery of Bec in Normandy, where he became endeared to William the Conqueror, who appointed him Archbishop of Canterbury (1006-1089). His successor, ANSELM (1033-1109), was also a strong champion of orthodox opinion, though his genius was more in the line of pure speculation (ii. 195-200). The more independent reasoning of ABELARD (§ 64. *a*) was suppressed by church authority, directed by the influence of St. Bernard. And the received body of doctrine was formally drawn out in a treatise, or text-book, called the "Book of Sentences" by PETER the Lombard (d. 1164).

b. After the middle of the twelfth century two influences came in to modify the development of doctrine: the study of Aristotle (philosophy and logic), introduced from Saracen schools, and applied to theology by ALEXANDER OF HALES

(an Englishman: d. 1245); and the study of Roman Law, which led to a wonderful expansion of the UNIVERSITIES, the centres of theological as well as legal studies (see ii. 217-219).

c. The great theologians of the thirteenth century, who are the chief representatives of Scholastic Theology, were members of the two Mendicant Orders. The most eminent among them were ALBERT the Great (1193-1280) and THOMAS AQUINAS (1225-1274), who were Dominicans; BONAVENTURA (or John of Fidanza: 1221-1274) and ROGER BACON (1214-1294), who were Franciscans,—the last being rather a scientific dreamer and experimenter than a theologian. (See ii. 219-223; and for illustrations of the *Realism* assumed in the Scholastic Theology, id. 200-214.)

Saint Louis.

70. The nobler virtues of the Middle Age—ardent piety, self-devotion, valor, and sentiment of justice—had their best illustration in the character and reign of LOUIS IX., King of France, commonly known as SAINT LOUIS. — A. D. 1226-1270.

a. The father of Louis, having reigned three years, died after a campaign in the Albigensian war (§ 67. c), leaving him a child of eleven years in guardianship of his mother Blanche of Castile (ii. 112, 117). It is probable that compunction for that horrible crusade, in which some territory was gained to the French crown, quickened his scrupulous sense of the justice due to his subjects. His rule at home was exceedingly wise and merciful; and his long reign of forty-four years was a most important era in consolidating the institutions of France.

b. The administration of justice during this reign was regulated by the Royal Courts, which by their uniform method gradually supplanted the rude, arbitrary, and cruel jurisdiction of the Feudal Lords. In the revolution thus brought about, the royal power had been sustained and aided by the Church. But the king was presently compelled to resist the encroachment of the Clergy, as well as to defend his own sovereignty against the claims of Rome. The terms of the compact by which the supremacy of the State was secured were embodied

in what is known as the *Pragmatic Sanction*, the foundation of the so-called "Gallican Liberties."¹

NOTE. — For the circumstances of the revolution above alluded to, with its bearing on the popular feeling towards the Church and its consequent effect on Religious Art; see ii. 239-245.

c. Sharing the religious passion of his age, Louis, after recovering from a dangerous sickness, took the Crusader's vow, and sailed (1249) on a disastrous expedition to Egypt, his kingdom being left in charge of his mother. Her death, and disorders due to his absence, especially the dreadful ravages of the *Pastoureaux*, compelled his return (ii. 95). But in 1270, when affairs seemed well in order, he embarked again for the coast of Tunis, where he died (ii. 83, 84). This was the LAST CRUSADE.

NOTE. — The curious and entertaining life of St. Louis by his devoted friend and counsellor the *Sieur de Joinville* is said to be the earliest, as it is one of the most interesting, of modern biographies.

The Sicilian Vespers.

71. The long contention of several popes against Frederick II., grandson of Barbarossa (1194-1250), led at length to an invitation from Clement IV. to Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, to occupy the kingdom of Sicily and Naples. These territories were seized accordingly, and ruled with great insolence and cruelty for about fifteen years; when a sudden insurrection surprised and destroyed every Frenchman in Sicily. This act of pardonable but ferocious vengeance is known in history as the SICILIAN VESPERS. — A. D. 1282.

NOTE. — For the series of events preceding this massacre, and especially for the cruelties under which Italy suffered from the partisans respectively of the Emperor and the Pope, see ii. 262-264. A few years later the Spanish king, who was allied by marriage with the house of Frederick, conquered back Sicily and Naples from the French, leading to important consequences in later European history.

¹ Reaffirmed in 1438 and in 1682 (iii. 187).

Boniface VIII.

72. As a measure of peace in the violence of faction, an aged hermit, of austere life and high repute of saintliness, had been chosen pope as CELESTINE V. Finding his position wretched, and fearing to imperil his soul, he was persuaded to abdicate by an able and ambitious ecclesiastic, who at once succeeded him as BONIFACE VIII. — A. D. 1294-1303.

a. The extraordinary arrogance of the assertions made by Boniface has created a very hostile feeling towards him among many historians. He was, however, unquestionably a sincere and even fanatical believer in the theory of supremacy maintained by Hildebrand, and resolved to vindicate the threatened authority of the Church. His vow of self-consecration to this end is a remarkable monument of the feeling of the age.¹

b. The advantages gained by papal policy during the Thirteenth Century were: 1. the submission exacted of Frederick II. in 1243, followed by his excommunication in 1245 at the *Council of Lyons*, and his death in 1250, with the extermination of his house; 2. an alliance with *Rodolph of Hapsburg*, by which he gained the pope's support in winning the Empire in 1273, making important concessions (ii. 280); 3. the attitude of superiority which the Roman Church held towards the Eastern at a second Council of Lyons, in 1274. Against these are to be set, however, the loss of Sicily, and the final failure of the Crusade (1291: ii. 84).

c. As a formal announcement of the sovereignty achieved by two centuries of struggle, and now asserted by the Church, Boniface issued, on Christmas day of the year 1299, a proclamation of JUBILEE, to be celebrated at Rome through the following year (ii. 75, 251, 252). This celebration, thronged by vast numbers throughout the year, marks at once the culmination of ecclesiastical authority and pretensions, and the boundary which terminates the great age of papal supremacy (compare ii. 279).

¹ Given in full in *Baronius*, under the date 1294.

CHAPTER VII.

DAWN OF THE MODERN ERA.

TO THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION, A. D. 1500.

Popes at Avignon.

73. THE arrogant claims of Boniface VIII. soon led to a violent conflict with the French king PHILIP IV. (grandson of St. Louis), resulting in the pope's imprisonment and death (1303). Two years later a French cardinal, being chosen pope as CLEMENT V., removed the Papacy to Avignon, on the river Rhone, where it continued for about seventy years under the control of that monarchy. This period is known in Catholic annals as *the Babylonish Captivity* (Jer. xxv. 11). — A. D. 1309–1378.

NOTE. — For the circumstances of Boniface's deposition, see ii. 75, 76. The original ground in dispute was the king's claim to levy contributions for state needs upon the clergy, contested by the pope in the bull *Clericis laicos* (1296).

a. The body of Cardinals being divided into two parties, French and Italian, and neither commanding the two-thirds necessary to a choice of pope, it was proposed that one of the parties should agree to vote for one out of six names proposed by the other. This proposal was eagerly accepted by the Italians, especially as the list proposed included the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who had been violently hostile to Philip in the dispute. Before he was notified of the vote, however, Philip called him to a private interview, at which he promised to secure his election as pope, on his accepting certain conditions, one of them not to be made known till after the election. This

was promptly assented to, and confirmed by oath and by sharing the eucharist; and the Italians thus found that they had chosen their most unscrupulous adversary. The secret condition was either the destruction of the Templars (§ 74), the removal to Avignon, or cancelling the acts of Boniface on the ground that, Celestine's abdication being invalid, he was therefore no true pope.

b. The residence at Avignon was a period of great pride and luxury in the papal court and city, and of pretensions as arrogant as ever, especially as made by JOHN XXII. (1316-1334). But it was a time of violent divisions of opinion, and of great cruelty in the policy towards the monastic orders; while the dependence on the French monarchy greatly degraded the Papacy in the estimation of other countries.

c. In particular, the Italians were humiliated and angry (ii. 280). Especially under the new passion of admiration for classic antiquity, which presently arose (id. 284-289), Italy was greatly estranged from ecclesiastical rule, and a prey to political disorders. It was under these circumstances that the famous "tribune" Rienzi restored for three years the forms of a republic in Rome (1347-1350).

Templars and Minorites.

74. Under pressure of the French king, the order of the *Knights Templar* was abolished by Clement V., after a process of excessive cruelty and extortion (1312); while jealousies among the monkish orders led to a bitter persecution of the *Minorite Friars*, a sect of uncompromising ascetics, on the charge of heresy.

a. The Templar Knights (ii. 148) had acquired vast wealth and great estates, offering a rich prize to the king's avarice. They had, besides, excited general hatred by an insolent and wanton luxury, and were charged with odious vices and with scornful repudiation of Christianity (compare id. 150). These charges were steadily denied, under extreme torture, by their aged and heroic Grand Master, Molay; but the process was

persisted in, and the Order was abolished by the pope, to whose authority alone it was accountable.

b. The monastic orders, especially the Franciscans, included many fervid and mystic devotees, whose simpler good faith, or fanaticism, was hostile to the secular rule of the Church. These were known, in general, by the names of Minorites and Fraticelli. They were charged especially with the heresy of *the Poverty of Christ*, denying the lawfulness of any earthly possessions; and of *the Eternal Gospel*, declaring that the Church as an institution must shortly pass away (ii. 156).

c. The chief preacher of the "Eternal Gospel" was the Abbot JOACHIM (1130-1203), who was regarded as author of that opinion. Pope Celestine V. (§ 72) shared the doctrine of the "poverty of Christ," and consented to the founding of a new religious Order on that ground, which was, however, abolished by his successor. From this time the Minorites were in open hostility to the papal power. An enthusiast named DOLCINO was hunted down and put to death with horrible tortures in North Italy in 1307. Four of the refractory Order were burned alive at Marseilles in 1318. A monk of extraordinary power, courage, and eloquence, BERNARD DELICIEUX, met the vindictive hostility of the Dominicans in the south of France, resisting the cruelties of the Inquisition, till his torture and death in 1320. The ascetic doctrine of the Minorites was defended by the celebrated English Franciscan, WILLIAM OCCAM (d. 1347), who placed himself under protection of the German Emperor.

Later Theologians.

75. The formal theology of the Schoolmen began to give way early in the Fourteenth Century, tending in one direction to Mysticism, which merged religion more and more in pious emotions; and in the other direction to Common Sense, denying the possibility of absolute knowledge, and merging religion more and more in practical ethics sustained by simple dogma.

a. The most eminent Mystics of this period were **RAYMOND LULLY** (1234–1315: see ii. 223), who developed his doctrine in a highly speculative and logical form, and whose life is an extraordinary romance of missionary zeal and personal adventure; and **Master ECKHART** (d. 1329), whose method was wholly that of interior piety, and in whom the mystical Son of God is every ransomed soul (ii. 192). Later names are those of **TAULER** (d. 1361), **GERSON** (1363–1429), and **THOMAS KEMPIS** (1380–1461), author (as generally believed) of the “*Imitation of Christ*.”

b. Of rationalists or dogmatists in this period, the most eminent were **DUNS SCOTUS** (1274–1308), of Scotch birth, a logician of extraordinary precision, subtilty, and force, perhaps the most masculine intelligence among the Schoolmen (ii. 224); **WILLIAM OCCAM** (*Ockham* or *Oakham*, d. 1347), an Englishman, at once rationalizing and fervidly pious, a sharp opponent of Boniface VIII. in the interest of the French king, and of John XXII. in defence of the Minorites, and teacher of Wiclif; and **THOMAS BRADWARDINE** (1290–1349), more especially a precursor of the Reformation in his literal and precise interpretation of the doctrine of Predestination.

c. The chief controversy of this century was that of the **THOMISTS** and **SCOTISTS** (followers of Aquinas and of Duns Scotus), of whom the latter especially urged against the other the dogma of Free Will as the foundation of religious ethics, and was a fervent advocate of the worship of the Virgin Mary.¹

The Golden Bull.

76. After a vehement and final struggle to maintain the papal supremacy,² the independence of the Empire had been asserted in 1338 by the German nobles against the claim insisted on by John XXII.; and it was confirmed in 1356 by an imperial decree of

¹ This had become a popular enthusiasm during the earlier Crusades, and was celebrated by a great festival at Lyons in 1140; but was opposed and discouraged by the greatest of the monastics, St. Bernard (§ 63. *a*).

² During which the emperor Louis IV. was excommunicated (1324) ¹ John XXII., the last excommunication of an emperor by a pope.

Charles IV., which formally defined the Electoral College as consisting of seven ecclesiastical and secular Princes of the Empire, by whom the emperor should be chosen. This ordinance is called the GOLDEN BULL.¹

NOTE. — The seven Electors were three *Ecclesiastical Princes*, — the Archbishops of Mayence (Chancellor for Germany), of Trèves (Chancellor for Gaul), and of Cologne (Chancellor for Italy); and four *Secular Princes*, — the King of Bohemia, Duke of Saxony, Margrave of Brandenburg, and Count Palatine of the Rhine; to whom, during the Thirty Years' War, was added an eighth, the Duke of Bavaria. By ending disputes among the German houses, the Act prevented future appeals to the Pope for confirmation of imperial elections.

John Wiclif.

77. The hostility of England against France, developed in the "Hundred Years' War" (1338–1444), gave the opportunity, now that the pope was identified with French interests, of a powerful movement in England of protest against ecclesiastical power and papal authority. This earlier movement of Reformation was led by an eminent theologian and able politician, JOHN WICLIF (1320–1384).

a. Wiclif was a distinguished scholar at Oxford, and later a fast friend of the king's younger son, John of Gaunt. His mind took a serious — perhaps sombre — tone during the terrible pestilence of the "Black Death" (1348), which, followed by the "Peasants' Revolt," threatened a social revolution, and led to a religious appeal called "Last Age of the Church." Hostility to the Pope was called forth by the demand by Urban V. of arrears of church-tribute and cessation of the taxing of church property (1365). Wiclif was probably a member of Parliament (about 1366), and his activity at this time was largely in political affairs.

¹ From the golden case, or shell, of the great round seal (*bullæ*). The papal "Bull" is a document certified by a similar seal of lead.

b. In later life (following 1378) Wiclif lost political credit, and gave his energy to the work of religious reformation, opposing image-worship, the dogma of transubstantiation, and the luxury of priests. His chief methods were the translating and circulating of the BIBLE, and the organizing of a body of "Poor Preachers" as missionaries among the people. The effect was to carry strong religious convictions among a large part of the English population, who were later known as "Lollards," and were the forerunners of that powerful religious body known as PURITANS.

c. The doctrine of Wiclif is represented as consisting essentially of two principles: 1. There is a Moral Order of the Universe (*dominium*), political and ecclesiastical; all right (including property and authority) turns on one's relation to this sovereign order; what is without it, is void of authority, — as a sacrament performed by a corrupt priest, — and no excommunication is valid "unless one has already excommunicated himself." 2. The ground of salvation is *imitation of Christ*, which is not only the *sign* but the *means* of grace: this includes "evangelical poverty" as a necessary virtue. The scheme of Wiclif is formal and scholastic; his doctrine is not always consistent with itself; and he is represented to have been "a jurist rather than a theologian." He died in peace, but his bones were afterwards burned as those of a heretic, and the ashes cast into the river Avon.

"The Avon to the Severn runs, the Severn to the sea;
And Wiclif's dust shall spread abroad, wide as the waters be."

The Great Schism.

78. Disorders in Italy having recalled the pope to Rome (1377), an election was held there after his death, in which, under pressure of a loud popular demand, an Italian was chosen as URBAN VI. He proved, however, rude in his measures of reform,

¹ These gave the type of Chaucer's "poore Personne of a toune." Chaucer was eleven years younger than Wiclif, and had been strongly influenced by him.

and violent if not insane in temper; which led to the choice of a rival French pope, CLEMENT VII., and to a division in the Church that lasted nearly forty years. This is known in history as the GREAT SCHISM. — A. D. 1378–1417.

a. In this schism Italy, Germany, and England were divided against France, Spain, and Scotland, — the Papacy losing greatly both in political strength and in moral dignity through the scandal of two popes denouncing and excommunicating each other (ii. 77). Great efforts were made to induce the two to submit to a common tribunal, and each agreed to resign *at the same moment* with the other; but the promise was evaded by both with equal duplicity and distrust. (See the list of popes of the two "Obediences," ii. 307.)

b. At length (1409) a Council of Cardinals was gathered at Pisa, to which the two rivals were summoned. Both failing to appear, they were formally deposed, and a third was chosen as ALEXANDER V., — an aged monk, who died within a year. He was succeeded by a man of political ability and daring, but infamous for many crimes, Balthazar Cossa, who became pope as JOHN XXIII. (ii. 281). Thus the result of the Council of Pisa had only been to give the spectacle of three popes instead of two.

Council of Constance.

79. The emperor SIGISMUND, being resolved to heal the disorder of the situation, constrained Pope John XXIII. to assent to the summoning of a Council in the German city of Constance. Here John was charged with the crimes of his life in seventy counts, deposed, and compelled to abdicate; and an Italian cardinal (*Colonna*) of political ability and craft was chosen as MARTIN V. This Council sat four years, — A. D. 1414–1418.

a. The three objects professed by the Council of Constance, the most numerous and splendid that had ever met, were : 1. to heal the Schism, — this was done in the election of Martin V. ;

2. to reform the disorders of the Church,—this, which the emperor had much at heart, was foiled by the craft of the new pope; 3. to suppress heresy,—this was especially taken in hand by JOHN GERSON (§ 75. a), who was the most influential leader of the Council. It was his dogma, as representing the University of Paris, that “the Council is of supreme authority and above the Pope.”

b. The suppression of heresy was effected by condemning forty-five propositions from the writings of Wiclif (§ 77), and by charging with similar heresies, and sentencing to be burned, the Bohemian reformer, JOHN HUSS (ii. 281), who perished July 6, 1415. A special cruelty and scandal of this sentence was that the emperor’s safe-conduct had been given to Huss, but was overruled by the Council as void, on the plea that he had been only promised an open trial, and now was condemned of heresy. This was construed into the celebrated dogma that “no faith need be kept with heretics.” The “blush of Sigismund,” when Huss looked him in the face, reminding him of his safe-conduct, became famous in history (see § 88. a).

c. Huss was strong in his national feeling, and had incurred the enmity of the Germans by maintaining the supremacy of the Bohemian language and “nation” in the university of Prague. He had come to know the works of Wiclif through the intimate relations between England and Bohemia resulting from the marriage of Richard II. with the sister of King Wenzel. Zealous students from Prague had become familiar with the new doctrines at Oxford; and Huss was, besides, confessor of the queen Sophia, and strongly favored by the king. He disclaimed being Wiclif’s follower, but defended his reforming course. His real offence was in opposing clerical abuses and the pope’s absolute supremacy, saying that “Christ, not Peter, is the head of the Church;” particularly his doctrine that the true Church, to which obedience is due, consists only of the Elect, — a view which denied its authority as an institution. He had, besides, offended the pope by preaching (1412) against the sale of Indulgences proclaimed by John XXIII. for a war against Ladislas, king of Naples. His treatment in Constance had been violent and cruel, and his death was well resolved on before his trial, and was vehemently urged by Sigismund himself.

d. A few months after the martyrdom of Huss, the same Council condemned and sentenced his zealous and eloquent coadjutor, Jerome of Prague, who was burned upon the same spot in May, 1416.

The Hussite War.

80. The martyrdom of Huss and Jerome excited deep popular wrath in Bohemia, leading to a war of appalling violence and devastation, which lasted fourteen years, ending in the defeat of the Hussites and the almost complete ruin of the country.—A. D. 1420–1434.

a. The war was for five years defensive, to resist the attempt made to subdue the Bohemian reform by force. It continued, however, with the invasion of Germany under PROKOP (*Procopius*), and a furious civil war in which the Hussites were led by a noble named ZISKA, a chief of astonishing military genius and ferocity, who remained at the head of their force, with the same skill and success, long after he was totally blind. After his death his party were known as *the Orphans*.

b. The more moderate party of the Hussites were known as *Calixtines*, claiming the use of the Cup (*calix*) for the laity in the eucharist; also *Utraquists*, as demanding communion “in both kinds.”¹ Their other demands were reform of morals, freedom of preaching, and refusal of secular property or office to the clergy. The use of the Cup was granted by a compromise made at the Council of Basel (1433), and is still enjoyed in Bohemia; the other points were promised, but evaded.

c. The more radical party, under the lead of Ziska, were known as “*Taborites*,” from the name *Tabor*, given to their hill-encampment fifty miles south of Prague. After his death they continued the war under two leaders, each named PROKOP,

¹ It had long been a practice (sometimes said to have originated during the Crusades, when large multitudes partook of the sacrament at once) to refuse the use of wine to the laity — partly (perhaps) for mere convenience, though it was connected with superstitious dread of spilling a drop of “the Lord’s blood.” The point is elaborately discussed in the Acts of the Council of Basel (see ii. 20, n.).

who were both killed in battle in 1434; after which the party disappeared, in submission or exile, a colony of them being afterwards merged in the "Moravian Brethren."

Last Effort at Reform.

81. The last attempt to control the administration of the Church by a representative body was made during the papacy of EUGENE IV. by the Council of Basel, which sat ineffectually for eighteen years (1431-1449), being never recognized by the pope. Meanwhile (1438) a Council at Florence agreed, after long debate, upon terms of compromise with the Eastern Church; but these terms were immediately and scornfully repudiated by the clergy and people of the Greek Empire.

a. The Council of Basel was called (1431) by Martin V., who, however, died on his way to attend it, and it was repudiated by his successor, Eugene IV. Its only act of importance was a compromise with the Hussites (§ 80. b). It was crippled by the hostility of the pope, whom it attempted to depose (1435), appointing in his place a cardinal-prince of Savoy as FELIX V., but without effect.

b. The authorities of the Greek Empire, in extreme dread of Turkish invasion, sent a splendid embassy into Italy (1437) to seek terms of unity and alliance. They were received with great pomp at Venice, and by a Council called by Eugene at Ferrara, afterwards adjourned to Florence. The Eastern delegates found their chief difficulty in accepting the phrase *filioque* (§ 26. b, note) in the Latin creed; and it was this, in particular, which was angrily rejected at Constantinople (i. 186). Fifteen years later (1453) the Greek Empire was overthrown by the Turks.

The New Paganism.

82. The classical revival of the Fourteenth Century, with the new passion for the works of pagan antiquity, was greatly extended during the Fifteenth

by the eager study of classic authors and works of art, by the flight of many learned Greeks into Italy from terror of the Turks, and by the invention of printing. It was at length formally adopted and consecrated by the authorities of the Church, in the election of an eminent classical scholar as pope, under the name of NICHOLAS V. — A. D. 1447-1455.

NOTE. — For the earlier manifestations of this spirit, see ii. 284-291; for special illustrations in Literature and Art, id. 292-299, especially the contrast between the studies of the Italian and the German or English scholars, p. 297. This period is known in history as the age of the *Italian Renaissance*. In a later stage, towards the end of the Fifteenth Century, it coincides with the era of great geographical discoveries, — America, 1492; the passage to India, 1497. In philosophy, the same period is signalized by the School of Platonists in Florence; and in the history of science, by the birth of Copernicus in 1473.

The Wicked Popes.

83. The effect of the New Paganism, so violently contrasted with the theory and profession of the Church, was soon manifest in a series of four popes whose lives were flagrantly profligate and corrupt. This series may with propriety be called the WICKED POPES. — A. D. 1464-1503.

a. These four are Paul II. (1464), Sixtus IV. (1471), Innocent VIII. (1484), and Alexander VI. (1492: see, for illustrations of this period, ii. 299-302).¹ Their career has been thus figuratively described in Symonds's *Renaissance in Italy*: —

"Upon a stallion gorgeously caparisoned, first rides a grand man in prime of life, whose tiara blazes with sapphires; tortured captives are

¹ As an example of the moral infidelity of the time, Alexander VI., who professed zeal for the true doctrine, and gave all America to the king of Spain for Christian colonization, offered the *seamless coat of Christ* as a reward for the murder of a Turkish prince, brother of the Sultan Bajazet, who had been put for safe keeping in his hands.

tied to his stirrup-leather: that is PAUL II. Next comes a heavy-headed tyrant, seated in a golden car; two tigers fed on human flesh drag the chariot, and the wheels are flecked with gory foam; beside him beautiful young men are throned, voluptuously attired and delicate in all their gestures; but Famine goes in front, depopulating cities and laying broad plains silent; Alecto follows, lashing the nations with her nine-times-corded whip of steel: that is SIXTUS IV. When he has passed, a fat mule enters, obstinate and sullen, bearing like a bundle on its back a graybeard sunk in sloth, with no lustre in his leaden eyes, unless perchance they fall upon the bastards that attend him: that is INNOCENT VIII. Then, as he disappears, a din of fiends is heard, and a triumphal chariot drawn by the seven deadly sins leads Belial himself upon the stage; murder and treachery and fraud and fear, all the shapes of death and lust, are dancing round this car; at the side of Belial smile his two children,—his daughter Incest, white as leprosy, and his son Fratricide, subtile-featured, smooth, and tortuous like a snake: that is ALEXANDER VI."

b. Partly to account for the moral horror of this period may be mentioned: 1. The political condition of Italy, in which the Pope was one among a group of despots of equal cruelty and immorality; 2. The reaction against the monastic ideal of the Church; 3. The *conscious falsehood* of the pope's position, faith in the decretal system being already undermined (§ 50. Note); 4. The *moral fatality* of his position, as at once Priest and Cæsar.

Savonarola.

84. A brief revival of mediæval or monastic piety, with the attempt to control by sacerdotal religion the institutions of the State, is found in the career of JEROME SAVONAROLA, who for nearly five years maintained by his fervor and eloquence a theocratic republic in Florence, boldly assailing the corruptions of the papal government, but was condemned as a heretic by the judgment of Alexander VI., tortured and put to death, A. D. 1498.

NOTE.—The circumstances and character of Savonarola's brief ascendancy in Florence are popularly known through the noble tale

of "Romola." With great moral courage, a fervent enthusiasm, and a kindling eloquence, he was eager and short-sighted in his political action, and showed a lack of hardihood in facing the consequence of his own acts. He had an almost womanly sensitiveness and sympathy, perhaps timidity, which deepens the tragedy of his life. His hold upon the popular affection and reverence seems to have been weakened by his seclusion from the public during a visitation of the plague; and, towards the end of his life, that reverence had been changed, among the lowest class, to mockery and contempt. A peculiarly delicate and feminine hand, transparently thin and white, seems a type both of the purity of his enthusiasm and the feebleness of his grasp upon the hard realities of his time. One of the purest examples of mediæval piety and virtue, his career makes a striking close to the story of the Middle Age, — the more, since he had nothing in his method in common with the leaders of the Reformation so soon to follow. In the period which we have called "Dawn of the Modern Era," it is interesting to observe that the two men of great genius who appeared at its beginning and its close, DANTE and SAVONAROLA, were at once sincere and devoted in their Catholic piety, and at the same time were brought by the strength of their moral conviction into sharp antagonism with the ecclesiastical authorities of their day (compare ii. 251-277, 280-282, 300-303).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REFORMATION.

TO THE RELIGIOUS PEACE OF AUGSBURG, A. D. 1555.

The Humanists.

85. AN important work was done for the coming Reformation by those *men of letters* who followed the tradition of the Classical Revival, contributing both to independence of thought and to a more intelligent interpretation of the Christian records. Learning and philosophy were in that day called "the Humanities," and those devoted to their study are known as THE HUMANISTS.

a. Of these the most eminent was ERASMUS (1467-1536), a native of Rotterdam, who had for some time lived in England, where he had the friendship of Sir Thomas More, and other distinguished English scholars. In a work called *The Praise of Folly* (1508), and in some of his Dialogues, he had sharply satirized the superstitions and vices of the time. His most important service was to edit a critical edition of the Greek Testament (1516), the first great step towards the modern biblical learning: the Bible familiarly known hitherto being the Latin Vulgate (§ 32. b; iii. 215), as interpreted only by the priesthood.

b. The Humanists in general, including Erasmus, were very hostile to a radical revolution, such as was soon seen to be inevitable, though they welcomed its earlier stages. But there were many, in Germany especially, — including men of rank, soldiers and statesmen, as well as learned men and poets, — who gave their sympathy and a strong impulse to the new movement. The most conspicuous of these was Ulrich of

Hutten, an adventurer of noble birth, a soldier of note, "crowned as the first German poet," and a keen satirist, who perished in 1523, after the failure of a revolt led by his friend Francis of Sickingen (§ 89. *b.*)

Indulgences.

86. In the year 1517 a placard for the sale of Indulgences was issued by the pope, LEO X., in order to raise money for the building of St. Peter's Church, then going on in Rome. This sale was extensively announced, especially in Germany, where it roused great hostility, and led to what is known as the *Controversy of Indulgences*.

a. The right of the Church to pardon sin had been maintained by Cyprian (§ 21. *c.*), and was accepted in the theory of the Catholic Church. For numerous offences special forms of penalty, or penance, were assigned, which must be accompanied by contrition to insure forgiveness, or absolution. In theory, this right of pardon rested on *the merits of Christ and the Saints*, which made a "treasury of good works" at the disposal of the Church; while the penance itself might be extended or remitted by the judgment of the Church. An "Indulgence" meant, at first, simply the *remission of ecclesiastical penalties*. This power of remission was conceived as extending to the pains of Purgatory (ii. 162, 163); and — in the popular view at least — as including all the penalties of the future life, under "the power of the Keys of Heaven and Hell" (Matt. xvi. 19).

b. In special emergencies it had come to be the practice to commute these penalties for money, which was called the "sale of Indulgences" (see § 79. *c.*). In theory, sincere penitence was still required; but this seems to have been gradually lost sight of, and the payment of money was represented as the essential thing. The practice had grown to be an enormous scandal (iii. 8); and it was especially galling to the people of Germany and England, who considered themselves as bled and plundered in the interest of Italy.

Luther's Protest.

87. On the 31st of October, 1517, MARTIN LUTHER, an Augustinian monk, preacher and professor in the University of Wittenberg, then in his thirty-fifth year, published (by fastening in the usual manner to the church-door) ninety-five *Theses*, or Queries, respecting the lawfulness of Indulgences. These were quickly circulated through Germany; and their publication is held to constitute the first decisive event of the Protestant Reformation.

a. Luther was born Nov. 10, 1483, of a poor Saxon peasant family, and was sent at the age of fourteen to acquire a learned education. Being of social and convivial temper, he made many warm friends. But at twenty-two, on a sudden impulse of terror or contrition, he resolved to become a monk. His profound religious experiences led him to embrace the doctrine of *Imputation*: that is, that a man must be saved, not by his own merit, which is vain, but by the free gift of Divine mercy (iii. 9), which mercy is bestowed in answer to a simple *act of faith*, implying unconditional reliance or belief in God: this is taught in what is called the doctrine of "Justification by Faith." This view, which he powerfully and practically urged in his preaching, soon brought him into active hostility to the ~~un~~moral theory of Indulgences, as then asserted. And it was greatly confirmed in him by a visit to Rome (1510 or 1511), which showed him the contrast between the moral condition of the papal court and its official claim of holiness (id. 4).

b. The incident which roused Luther's active opposition was the appointment of Tetzel, a monk of base character, as salesman of Indulgences. The first stage of his protest—after attempting in vain to have Tetzel suppressed—was the publication of his ninety-five *Theses*. This was followed by a three years' controversy with the papal delegates or champions (Cajetan, Eck, and Miltitz), ending in a bull of excommunication by the pope, which Luther publicly burned at Wittenberg. Dec. 10, 1520. In the same year he made a strong appeal †

the nobles and people of Germany, to resist the tyranny and pretensions of the Pope, who is fortified (as he says) with a "triple wall," — the supremacy of spiritual over temporal power, the claim of final authority as interpreter of Scripture, and the sole right to summon a Council for decision of any question in debate.

Luther at Worms.

88. In the spring of 1521 an Imperial Diet was summoned by the young emperor, CHARLES V., to meet at Worms on the Rhine, to consider and settle the state of affairs in Germany; and here Luther was ordered to appear, as one already condemned of heresy by the pope, and liable to be judged and sentenced by public law. His appearance before the Diet on the 17th and 18th of April, and his refusal here to retract his position, constitute the second important public event of the Reformation.

a. Charles V. had been chosen emperor in 1519, at the age of nineteen. His imperial visit, two years later, was his first appearance in Germany, where he was a stranger to the language and people. He was ready to maintain the decree of the pope, and to suppress heresy; but was prevented by political considerations — especially the jealousy of France and fear of the Turks — from going to sudden acts. Besides, Luther had come to Worms under his protection, or "safe-conduct," and accompanied by the enthusiastic regard of the people, being already a national or popular hero; and Charles, remembering the "blush of Sigismund" (§ 79. *b*), would not forfeit his good faith.

b. Before the Diet of Worms, Luther, now at the age of thirty-eight, stands in his highest moral attitude, as the champion of freedom of conscience. The words of his declaration are historical: *Here I stand. I cannot otherwise: God help me!* AMEN (iii. 11). The "Ban of the Empire" was, however, passed upon him, forbidding all to give him food or shelter with safety granted him only for twenty-one days.

c. Returning from Worms, Luther was seized by a friendly party of horsemen, and conveyed to the *Castle of Wartburg* (his "Patmos"), where he lived for about a year in honorable captivity as "Squire George," being chiefly occupied with his translation of the New Testament. Meanwhile, troubles with France, and the need of conciliating the friends of reform, prevented any serious attempt to execute the edict against him, which was virtually revoked a few years later (1526) by the declaration of the Diet that each State should have independent choice in matters of religion. Thus Luther was safe in the dominion of Frederick (afterwards of John, and then of John Frederick), Elector of Saxony.

The Radical Revolt.

89. The vehement and passionate attacks of Luther upon Rome and the priesthood were followed, during his retreat at Wartburg, by a Radical Revolt, violently repugnant to his religious feeling, which led to fanatical excesses and scandals, and at length to an armed insurrection of the Peasantry, which was savagely suppressed. — A. D. 1525.

a. A movement of religious radicalism, led by Carlstadt, an associate of Luther, had begun in Wittenberg early in 1521. This was soon reinforced by certain enthusiasts called the "prophets of Zwickau," and by the fanaticism of one Münzer, who conducted the movement to a socialistic revolt, but was suppressed and executed as a criminal. Luther left the Wartburg in March, 1522, to withstand this disorder; and he is henceforth not a leader in the front, but a *conservative reformer*, or constructor of a new ecclesiastical order.

b. In the summer of 1522 Francis of Sickingen (§ 85. b) formed an armed league of independent nobles to attack the episcopal city of Trèves, in vindication of "the ancient liberties of the Empire." He was forced to retreat, attacked by the more powerful electoral princes, and killed; his associate, Ulrich of Hutten, perished shortly after. This ill-judged act of violence was a serious blow to the Reformation.

c. The most formidable peril of the time was the PEASANTS' WAR (1524, 1525), which occurred during the emperor's campaign against the French in Italy. Leaders of the peasants had drawn up a humble "bill of rights," or protest against feudal oppression, which Luther urged upon the nobles; but, their demand being refused, there followed a horrible socialist revolt, which devastated a large part of South and West Germany. Luther's counsel was then decisive in turning the middle class to side with the nobles against the peasants, who were soon defeated (May 15, 1525), and slaughtered with unsparing vengeance.

Reformation in Switzerland.

90. About the same time with Luther's attack on Indulgences, a similar movement was led in Zürich by ULRICH ZWINGLI, a man of singular ability, learning, moral force, and personal courage. The Swiss cantons were soon divided, as opponents or defenders of Rome, the chief towns of northern Switzerland, Basel and Zürich, being strongholds of the Reformation. Jealousies between the parties led to a "war of the Cantons," and to a sudden attack of the Catholic districts upon Zürich, and a battle at Cappel, in which Zwingli was killed. — Oct. 11, 1531.

NOTE. — Zwingli, with his associate Ecolampadius, met Luther and Melancthon by appointment in 1529, in the *Conference of Marburg*, to endeavor to bring about concert of action among the Reformers. This was defeated by the persistency of Luther in refusing communion with one who took a more rationalizing view than himself of the Lord's Supper. The most unpardonable act of Luther's life is his rejection of Zwingli's offered hand (iii. 20, 29). His own doctrine was that known technically as "consubstantiation" (ii. 214); that of Zwingli, that the Lord's Supper is simply a "commemoration;" that of Calvin, that it has a "sacramental" efficacy.

Reformation in France.

91. The movement of the Reformation was widely felt in France; but less among the body of the peo-

ple (as in Germany) than among the higher and educated orders. Though cruelly persecuted from time to time, it was steadily protected by Margaret of Navarre, sister of Francis I., who maintained great influence over him; and it at length rallied a powerful political party, the HUGUENOTS, who had for their chiefs some of the highest of the French nobility, and even threatened to control half of France as an independent Protestant Republic.

NOTE. — The policy of unfriendly and vacillating neutrality, which was in general that held by the French monarch during the reigns of Francis I. (1515–1547) and Henry II. (1547–1559), was brought to an end by the treaty of *Câteau Cambresis*, which initiated the period of Religious Wars (§ 101).

Reformation in England.

92. In the year 1532, Henry VIII., king of England, having vainly sought consent of the pope to make void his marriage with Katharine of Arragon, declared himself and the realm of England independent of the authority of Rome. The result was the establishment of a National Church, of which the Sovereign was Supreme Head, while its doctrine and ritual remained unchanged.

a. The movement begun by Wiclif had resulted (§ 77. *b*) in a numerous popular party of reform, known sometimes by the name of "Lollards," holding views kindred with those of the Hussites and the German reformers. They had been cruelly persecuted under the statute "for burning heretics" (1401), which statute continued to be enforced after Henry's secession from Rome.¹ He had, in 1521, gained from the pope the title "Defender of the Faith" for an attack on Luther's doctrine;

¹ In 1518, six men and a widow were burned at Coventry for teaching the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments in English.

and persecuted heresy as vindictively as treason. His creed was restated in 1539, in the following *Six Articles*: 1. Real Presence in the Eucharist; 2. Communion in *one kind* (§ 80. *b*); 3. Celibacy of priests; 4. Permanence of monastic vows; 5. Private Masses; 6. Auricular Confession (to a priest, secretly). These Articles were repealed under Edward VI., and the English Liturgy was established in 1548.

b. The only motive of Henry's secession is often stated to be weariness of his wife Katharine, and desire to marry Anne Boleyn, afterwards the mother of Elizabeth. But his counselors — especially Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex — were doubtless influenced by the following reasons: 1. Henry's father had within fifty years (in 1485) put an end to the Civil "War of the Roses," which in case of a disputed succession was sure to be renewed. 2. The marriage with Katharine (his brother's widow: ii. 64) was strictly uncanonical, entered on for political reasons solely, and permission for it had been got with difficulty. 3. She had only one child, a sickly girl, whose relations with Spain would make her succession odious to a large party in the nation. 4. In case of her death, religious divisions would add to the fury of the contention sure to arise.

c. It is only just to say — irrespective of the king's personal motive — that all these reasons were fully justified by the event. The short reign of Mary (1553-1558) was a bloody Catholic reaction after the establishment of Protestantism under Edward VI., and was hateful to the nation; while that of Elizabeth (1558-1603), which followed, put England as a Protestant power at the head of Europe. In short, the divorce from Katharine probably saved the nation from a half-century of religious terror, and gave to history the England of Raleigh, Bacon, Shakespeare, and Milton.

Calvin in Geneva.

93. In the year 1536 JOHN CALVIN, then at the age of twenty-seven, and already known for his systematic and logical exposition of Protestant doctrine in the *Institutes*, became a resident of Geneva; and for the greater part of the time until his death,

in 1564, he was the chief and almost autocratic adviser in the affairs of the Genevan Republic.

a. During this time, and for many years after, Geneva was a fortified place of refuge for French Protestants in exile; and was the source whence an active propagandism went forth, which was powerfully effective in France and western Germany, was predominant in Scotland and the Netherlands and among the English Puritans, and even threatened the invasion of Italy and Spain (see iii. 12, 13; 61, 62).

b. The interior rule of Calvinism at Geneva was a rigid puritanism, which proscribed amusements, strictly regulated the private life, and punished with extreme severity vices as well as crimes (see iii. 65-68). The most signal and unpardonable act of this jurisdiction was the burning alive for heresy of a Spanish physician and free-thinker, MICHAEL SERVETUS, who had taken refuge in Geneva (1553). Calvin consented to his death, although (he says) he "disapproved of its atrocity."

NOTE. — For the doctrinal system known as Calvinism, and the circumstances of the time which account for it if they do not justify its severity, see iii. 52-58.

Unitarian Reformers.

94. The doctrinal system hitherto received alike by Catholic and Protestant was attacked, about the middle of this century, by more radical critics, of the Italian School, who sought to disprove by arguments from Scripture the fundamental doctrine of the Trinity. This school is represented by the names of LÆLIUS and FAUSTUS SOCINUS (1525-1562; 1539-1604).

a. The Unitarian opinion had already appeared in northern Italy, but was suppressed at Venice, where the professors of that opinion were taken out in barges and drowned in the Adriatic. Fleeing from Italy, Lælius Socinus (*Sossini*) and his nephew Faustus took refuge for a time in Switzerland; but, alarmed at the burning of Servetus (§ 93. *b*), they withdrew to Poland,

where they were sheltered by the independent Polish nobility, still continuing their task of exposition and publication. Here a considerable community, and a school of learned theologians called the Polish Brethren, subsisted for about a century, when their religious community was broken up by influence of the Jesuits in 1658.

b. An Italian physician named GEORGE BLANDRATA, friend and disciple of Socinus, accompanied him to Poland, whence he was invited to a place of trust in the royal family of Transylvania. Here the queen and her son, afterwards the heroic king JOHN SIGISMUND, warmly embraced his doctrine. This was also adopted by the eloquent leader of the reformers in Transylvania, FRANCIS DAVID; and a Unitarian community, with constitutional rights and privileges, was established in 1568, which continues to this day. For omitting from the liturgy the form of divine homage paid to Christ (in opposition to the remonstrance of Blandrata and the arguments of Socinus), David was — in the Catholic reaction following the death of John Sigismund in 1571 — charged with heresy, and died after a few months' imprisonment (1579).

NOTE.—It will be observed that Luther attacked the *authority and discipline* of the Church, Calvin its *ritual and sacraments*, Socinus its system of *speculative doctrine*; and that all the Reformers are agreed, so far, in taking the Bible as ultimate authority (iii. 127, 214-217).

Luther's Later Work.

95. During the last twenty years of his life Luther was engaged partly in the hopeless attempt to maintain harmony of opinion among the different Reformers, and partly in the work of organizing a Church modelled nearly upon that of Rome. In the latter task, especially, he was aided by his constant and trusted adviser, PHILIP MELANCHTHON.

a. Melanchthon (1497-1560) was a precocious and highly accomplished scholar, of intrepidity far inferior to Luther, a man of gentle and yielding temper, who in his successive "confessions" compromised dangerously with Rome. In par-

ticular, the Lutheran Church retained the office of Mass with elevation of the Host, according with Luther's doctrine of the Real Presence (§ 90. *note*), and accounting for his persistency in rejecting fellowship with the "Sacramentarians."

b. Luther's domestic life after his marriage (in 1525) shows the best side of his personal character, — affectionate, tender, hospitable, and very generous. But as early as the age of forty-five he began to show symptoms of painful disorders — congestion, neuralgia, and calculus — which made his last years frequently distressed and morbidly anxious. He believed that the end of the world was near, that the Devil was busy in undoing his work, and that the Turks were the army of Antichrist. A characteristic expression from one of his letters is the following: —

"How often have I stood on the banks of the Danube at Ratisbon, and looked at its deep and impetuous stream, and wept, and thought that if I could even pour out as many tears as that rapid flood rolled down waters, I could not exhaust the burden of grief which I continually carry about with me, on account of the depressed and lacerated condition of the Church!"

NOTE. — These moods, among other most interesting phases of Luther's mind, are shown in his "Table-Talk" (published after his death), which makes the basis of Michelet's brief "Life of Luther." Compare, as to some incidents of this period, iii. 29.

The Smalcaldic War.

96. Very soon after Luther's death war broke out between the Protestant *League of Smalcald* on one side and the forces of the Empire on the other. The Protestants were severely defeated at Mühlberg (1547), and forced to accept a compromise called the *Augsburg Interim*; but in 1552 the emperor was suddenly attacked by his most trusted officer, MAURICE of Saxony, and compelled to assent to the Treaty of Passau, which was confirmed two years later by the *Religious Peace of Augsburg*. — A. D. 1555.

NOTE. — The essential conditions of the Peace of Augsburg were three: 1. Each prince is free to elect the Catholic or Luther

religion for his own territory; 2. Subjects are to accept the religion of their sovereign, but with freedom to migrate; 3. Ecclesiastical property, belonging to any prince renouncing Romanism, to be retained by the Church (*reservatum ecclesiasticum*). This peace was directly followed by the abdication of Charles V., who now felt himself to be defeated, broken down, and old.

a. The Smalcaldic League of Protestant princes was formed in 1529, when entire suppression of the reform movement was undertaken by Charles. The Protest of the Reformers against the edict of the Diet at Spires in this year gave to their party the name PROTESTANT. An invasion by the Turks, however, — in which the Protestant leaders gave the emperor valiant aid, — prevented any attempt at suppression; and freedom of worship was granted in 1530 to those who accepted the celebrated "Confession of Augsburg," drafted by Melancthon. These terms were confirmed by the *Religious Peace of Nuremberg*, in 1532.

b. Political troubles, including a second Turkish invasion (1532), added to the security and strength of the Protestants, who by a sudden attack in 1534 compelled Würtemberg to join their League. In the same year Münster was ruled for a time by the horrible fanaticism of *John of Leyden*, who was captured and put to death by the Catholics, the Protestants standing neutral.¹ In 1538, jealous of the rapid success of Protestantism, the Catholics formed a counter-league; but during the lifetime of Luther his influence was powerfully exerted to preserve peace.

c. In general it may be said that after the *Conference of Marburg* (1529: § 90. note), which forbade hope of a consistent and united movement, the moral tone of the Reformation rapidly declined. Protestantism became more and more a political party, sustained by local state powers; and the Protestant Church of Germany degenerated to a narrow Lutheranism, which, by its jealousy against the more daring Calvinistic "Reformed," was greatly guilty, at a later day, of the miseries of the "Thirty Years' War" (§ 107. b).

¹ A very interesting account of these events is given in the "Modern Review" for January and April, 1884.

CHAPTER IX.

WARS OF RELIGION.

TO THE TREATY OF WESTPHALIA, A. D. 1648.

The Catholic Reaction.

97. THE course of the Reformation was from an early date accompanied by a strong reaction, or revival, in the interest of the Roman Church. The chief features of this reaction were a wakening of fervent *piety* under the impulse of new monastic orders; an invigorating of ecclesiastical *discipline*, enforced by the Inquisition; an elaborate formulating of *doctrine*, by direction of the Council of Trent; and an appeal for armed protection, and for the *suppression of heresy*, to the political powers still faithful to Rome, enabling it to meet on equal terms nearly a century of Religious Wars.

NOTE. — For the circumstance, character, and tendencies of the Catholic Reaction, see iii. 26-47. For a specification of the objects had in view, see especially pp. 43-45. Its results were: 1. a narrower limitation of the Catholic world, the North being now excluded as well as the East; 2. more rigid discipline within, and reliance on armed force without; 3. a tendency to deprive the Church of political authority, making it more exclusively a spiritual power.

The Jesuits.

98. A new Religious Order, under the name "Society of Jesus," was founded in 1540 by IGNATIUS LOYOLA, a Spanish Cavalier by birth, who had become a devoted monk. The Order was confirmed by

PAUL III., with the commission "to obey in all things the reigning pope; to go into any country, — to Turks, heathen, or heretics, or to whomsoever he might send them, — at once, unconditionally, without question or reward." Under their vow of absolute obedience, the Jesuits became the chief and most powerful agents of the Catholic Reaction.

NOTE. — For the circumstances in Loyola's life which led him to assume his monastic vows, see iii. 33, 34.

a. The Constitution of the Jesuit Order was that of a military government, the territories of the Church being divided into Provinces, each with its governor or Provincial, and a General, with absolute authority, being in command of all.

b. The chief Services of the Jesuits were: 1. An immense system of *missions*, extending as far eastward as India, China, and Japan, and including in America the two remarkable settlements of Canada and Paraguay, in both of which they acquired extraordinary control over the native tribes; 2. A system of *secret agency* in Protestant countries, carried out by emissaries of wonderful daring and skill: as in England, where they made a constant organized conspiracy during almost all the reign of Elizabeth, often suffering imprisonment, torture, and death, but always forward to volunteer and dauntless to endure.

c. In distinction from other monastic orders, the Jesuits appeared in the world as scholars and gentlemen; not obliged to wear a peculiar garb, and having especially in charge the work of education. Their Schools — of classics, philosophy, and mathematics — were long the most perfect institutions of their class ever known. Their most famous college is that of the *Propaganda*, in Rome, which trains and yearly sends out missionaries, educated in from fifty to sixty languages, into all parts of the world.

d. The Jesuit Discipline selects its agents with singular care, employing the Confessional (iii. 104, 108) to determine their qualifications. By their rule, they could not be bound to commit "mortal or venial sin, except when enjoined by the Superior

in the name of Jesus Christ." This rule led to an enormous development of the science of *Casuistry* (iii. 121, 122); and the charge has been generally believed, that with Jesuits "the end justifies the means." Political assassination was a crime frequently charged against them: William of Orange (1584) and Henry III. and IV. of France (1589, 1610) were murdered by Jesuit or Dominican agents.

e. The Order, from its political intrigues and secret influence, became very obnoxious to several Catholic governments; it was banished from Spain, Portugal, and France (1764), and was at length abolished by Clement XIV. in 1773 (iii. 200), but restored in 1814 (§ 136).

The Inquisition.

99. The INQUISITION, as a permanent institution for the suppression of heresy, had been founded during the crusade against the Albigenses, and in 1233 had been put in charge of the Dominican Order. In 1481, to aid in the conversion of Jews and Moors, the Spanish Inquisition had been established by Ferdinand and Isabella. In 1542, at the urgency of Cardinal Caraffa, a "Supreme and Universal Tribunal of Inquisition" was founded at Rome, to be under the immediate control of the Pope, having uniform jurisdiction throughout all Catholic countries, Spain only excepted. This terrible tribunal became the chief instrument by which the stricter discipline of the Catholic Reaction was maintained, and the most formidable engine to suppress any symptoms of heresy in subject countries.

NOTE. — For the circumstances of the first founding of the Inquisition, see §§ 65. *d.* 67. *e.* For illustrations of its later working, see iii. 36-40. The Inquisition was swept away in the storm of the French Revolution (in Spain, in 1808), but was restored, along with the Jesuit Order, in 1814.

Council of Trent.

100. In his earlier controversy with Rome, Luther had constantly appealed to the decision of a competent Council; and, in his desire to restore unity to the Empire, Charles V. had constantly urged the summons of one upon the Pope. The call was long delayed by political considerations and mutual jealousies; and was not issued till the summer of 1542, when the machinery of the Jesuit Order and of the Inquisition was now perfect, and when it was certain that the Protestants would refuse to attend or to recognize its authority. The Council met at length in 1545, at Trent in the Tyrol, and held its sessions at intervals during nearly eighteen years, closing in 1563. Its objects were the complete revision and restatement of the Catholic *creed*, especially on the controverted points of Justification and the Sacraments; and the perfecting of *discipline* by amendment of the code of Canon Law.

NOTE. — For notices of this Council and its Acts, see iii. 41-45, 127; and for the several topics it treated, with their dates, the Note, iii. 311. This was the last of the "Œcumenical" or Universal Councils, until the "Council of the Vatican," in 1869, 1870 (§ 143).

Huguenot Wars.

101. Before and during the reign of Henry II. of France (1547-1559) a series of measures¹ were taken against the Protestants, increasing in severity up to the proposal of an Inquisition in 1555. In August, 1559, at the close of a war with Spain, a treaty was made with the Spanish king Philip II. (*Treaty of*

¹ These were: 1. Edict of Fontainebleau (1540); 2. destruction of Mérindol (1545); 3. the *Chambre Ardente* (1547); 4. Presidial Judges (1551).

Câteau-Cambrésis), agreeing to the common suppression of Protestantism, by arms and the Inquisition, throughout both kingdoms. Henry was a few days later accidentally killed in the tournament got up to celebrate this treaty, and the policy of violence was delayed; resulting, however, in civil war within three years.

a. The Huguenot leaders (§ 91), alarmed at the control exercised by the violently Catholic family of *Guise* over the young king Francis II. and his queen (their niece, Mary Stuart), planned a conspiracy at Amboise in 1560, to depose them from power. This was discovered, and those engaged in it were immediately beheaded.

b. At the death of Francis II., Catherine de Medicis became regent for her son Charles IX. (1560–1574), then a boy of ten. She sought the support of both Catholics and Huguenots; and in a conference at Poissy (1561) gave friendly hearing to the arguments of both. But the next year a wanton massacre of Protestants at Vassy by Francis of Guise brought on a civil war in three stages, ending for the Huguenots in the three defeats of Dreux (1562), St. Denis (1567), and Jarnac (1569). Meanwhile, Francis of Guise had been killed with a pistol-shot at the siege of Orleans (1563) by a Huguenot of rank, Poltrot, — an act which incurred the bitterest vengeance of the Catholic party.

Saint Bartholomew.

102. On Sunday, the 24th of August, 1572 (*St. Bartholomew's Day*), at a concerted signal a little past midnight, a massacre of Protestants began in Paris, which soon extended to most of the large towns of France. The number of victims throughout the kingdom has been differently estimated, as low as 20,000, and as high as 100,000.

a. The first victim was the Admiral COLIGNY, the venerated leader of the Huguenots, now fifty-five years of age, who wa

killed in the most brutal manner by Henry of Guise. He had greatly won the confidence of the young king Charles IX., now a passionate and weak-minded youth of twenty-two, to the extreme jealousy of the Catholic party. He had been shot at and wounded two days before, while returning from an interview with the king, probably with the queen-mother Catherine's connivance. She, it is thought, would have been content with his death alone; but Charles is said to have insisted, passionately, that if he were slain, no Huguenot should be left alive as witness; and even to have shot with his musket from the palace window at fugitives struggling across the river. He died, apparently insane with remorse, two years later.

b. Many Protestants had been drawn to Paris at this time by the marriage of Henry of Bourbon, the young King of Navarre and chief of the Huguenots (afterwards Henry IV.), to Margaret, the sister of Charles. Convinced of profound and deliberate treachery, they renewed hostilities, with Henry for their leader, and the support of English sympathy; and the state of war continued for about twenty years longer.

Edict of Nantes.

103. The assassination of Henry III. in 1589 left the Huguenot leader, Henry of Navarre, nominally king of France. But he was not generally recognized as king till after he had renounced Protestantism and joined the Church of Rome (1593). The religious peace which followed was confirmed by the EDICT OF NANTES, giving to the Protestants liberty of worship and full civil rights in certain districts of Southern France, secured by the possession of several fortified towns.—A. D. 1598.

a. The death of Guise (murdered a few months before by order of the king) and of Catherine de Medicis had removed the chief obstacle to Henry's succession. But he was vigorously resisted by the Catholic party, until a brilliant victory at Ivry (1590) and an obstinate siege of Paris had made him really master. (See Macaulay's ballad, "The Battle of Ivry.")

b. The Edict of Nantes made the basis of the position of the Huguenots in France through Henry's reign, and till the time of Richelieu. But they were charged with the design either of gaining the government by conspiracy, or of establishing an independent republic in league with Spain. In 1628 their chief city, La Rochelle, was taken after a long siege; their political power was broken; and a series of oppressions ended with the *Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* in 1685 (iii. 187-192).

Revolt of the Netherlands.

104. In accordance with the *Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis* (1559), Philip II. resolved to suppress the liberties of the Netherlands (then subject to Spain), and to introduce the Spanish Inquisition there. This resolution had been confided to WILLIAM OF NASSAU, Prince of Orange, then a trusted officer of the Empire. He kept his counsel;¹ but, when the time came, he organized a patriotic resistance, leading to a war of extraordinary heroism and endurance, which secured the independence of the Netherlands in 1609. His own career, however, was cut short by assassination, July 10, 1584, at the age of fifty-one.

a. The chief events of the Dutch Revolt, before the death of Orange, are the following: 1566, forming of the association of "Beggars" (*Gueux*); 1567, administration of Alva, execution of Egmont and Horn; 1572, taking of Brill by Dutch privateers; 1574, siege and relief of Leyden; 1578, alliance with England; 1581, declaration of Independence.

b. From the year 1585 the war was conducted with extraordinary skill and hardihood by MAURICE OF ORANGE, son of William; while the constitutional law was defined by the patriot JOHN BARNEVELDT. A twelve years' Truce, in 1609, left the country virtually independent.

¹ Hence he has received in history the celebrated title of "The Silent." The whole story should be read in Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic."

Synod of Dort.

105. Religious disputes which broke out among the Hollanders as soon as their independence was secure, with political differences in the interpreting of their Constitution, led to the gathering of a Synod of Reformed Churches (distinct from Lutheran), which met at Dort, in Holland, in 1618. This Synod determined that which was long accepted as the authentic or official form of doctrine for the Calvinistic churches.

a. The religious differences referred to the Synod of Dort (see iii. 131-134) had about 1610 taken the form known as the *Arminian Controversy*; Arminius, a theologian of Leyden, having maintained the opinion which allows something of freedom to the human will, in opposition to the rigid doctrine taught by Calvin (iii. 52, 108). This view (which was violently attacked as heretical) was held also by Barneveldt, serving to give religious animosity to the political opposition between him and Maurice, who charged him with wishing to limit the central executive power, and even with seeking alliance with Spain. The opinion of Barneveldt was condemned by the Synod, in obedience to Maurice, and he was executed on a charge of treason in 1619.

b. The point of difference between the Calvinistic and Arminian parties to the discussion was this: Was the salvation or perdition of each man absolutely determined by an eternal decree, — that is, before the Fall (*Supralapsarian*); or was that decree made in consequence of the first man's actual disobedience (*Sublapsarian*); or is the fulfilment of it, in fact, contingent upon each man's obedience, thus leaving him a certain amount of free agency in determining his own salvation (*Arminian*)? The decision of the Synod (from which the Arminians were excluded) may be interpreted in favor of the second of these views, or what is sometimes called "low" Calvinism, as distinct from the rigid "supralapsarian" doctrine of Beza, the friend and interpreter of Calvin (iii. 60).

Thirty Years' War.

106. The conditions of the Religious Peace of Augsburg (§ 96) were such as to leave great jealousy and alarm among the Protestants of Germany, especially among the Calvinistic or "Reformed" party, whose rights were not recognized in that arrangement. This was increased by the constant pressure of the Catholic powers, especially Austria and Bavaria, till it resulted in a series of desolating conflicts, lasting for thirty years, and known as the THIRTY YEARS' WAR. — A. D. 1618–1648.

a. The way was prepared for this war by the extraordinary activity and zeal of the Jesuits, under the lead of PETER CANSIUS (1521–1597), in behalf of the Catholic Reaction in the south of Germany, by which cities and whole provinces were either converted or subdued by force. In particular, Ferdinand of Austria (afterwards emperor) and Maximilian of Bavaria were devoted disciples of the Jesuits, and pledged to uproot Protestantism from their dominion.

b. The Protestants, meanwhile, had gained in territory and strength, partly by absorbing the ecclesiastical estates, spite of the "Reservation" of Augsburg (§ 96. *note*). They were greatly divided, however, by jealousies of Lutheran and Calvinist, each being neutral in the other's quarrel with the Catholics. A Protestant league (1608) had included only Calvinists; while a Catholic league (1609) was alike hostile to both. In the first years of the war the Lutherans were wholly indifferent to the defeats and miseries of the Calvinists.

c. Origin of the War. By previous compact, Ferdinand became in 1617 King of Bohemia. The next year the Bohemians (generally Protestant), in apprehension of his rule, rejected the compact and expelled his agents, who were ignominiously cast at Prague from a high window into a mud-pit. Frederick V. of the Palatinate (§ 76, *note*), son-in-law of James I. of England, was then elected King of Bohemia. His acceptance led to a

war, in which he proved quite incompetent and helpless; Bohemia submitted within a year, and he was driven from his own territory of the Palatinate (1618–1624). A renewal of the war led to the defeat of Denmark, the devastation of North Germany by Wallenstein, and the humiliating treaty of Lübeck (1625–1629).

Gustavus Adolphus.

107. Closely threatened by the Catholic victories, the heroic king of Sweden, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, volunteered for the deliverance of Germany (1630). With extraordinary decision and skill he in a few months made himself master in the north, and was enthusiastically received throughout the west and south as the Saviour of the Reformation. He was killed in the battle of Lützen, which his army, however, turned into a rout and annihilation of the Catholic force (Nov. 16, 1632).

a. Gustavus was at first fettered by the suspicions and reluctance of the German Lutherans, who suffered the important city of Magdeburg to be taken and destroyed, with circumstances of great horror (May, 1631). A series of battles near Leipsic (September, 1631) proved the deliverance of Germany. The next year (April 14) the Austrian commander Tilly was killed at the Lech, and Wallenstein was restored to power; and, after his defeat at Lützen, he required and obtained from the emperor that he should have sovereign and absolute control of the war. Charged with treason, he was assassinated, by order of the emperor, February 25, 1634.

b. After the death of Wallenstein, Germany continued a prey to the ferocious system of havoc and devastation which he had introduced; and the war, without religious motive, was sustained by an alliance of France and Sweden, directed by Richelieu. It was carried on with inconceivable barbarity: both parties alike "baked the poor people in ovens, roasted them before fires, put out their eyes," and otherwise horribly mutilated them, "so that it seemed to be their object literally to destroy the

whole population." The numbers were reduced in various places "from 80,000 to 18,000, from 18,000 to 324, from 480,000 to 48,000;" while in the Palatinate "but a fiftieth part of the population remained." "In the south and west, Germany was a wilderness of ruins; places that were formerly seats of prosperity were haunts of wolves and robbers for many a long year."

Peace of Westphalia.

108. The Thirty Years' War was brought to an end by the PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, confirmed by a Treaty in one hundred and twenty-eight articles, establishing the principle of *absolute religious equality* and non-interference in church affairs by the government. The Palatinate was divided, and the Duke of Bavaria was made an eighth Elector (compare § 76). But the Empire as a European power was destroyed, and Germany was long reduced to political insignificance. This treaty is held to make the starting-point of modern European politics.

CHAPTER X.

THE ENGLISH PURITANS.

TO THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II., A. D. 1660.

Queen Elizabeth.

109. THE reign of ELIZABETH (1558-1603) began with restoring toleration and equal rights to the Protestants, after the persecution of Mary. Elizabeth was, however, neutral in matters of religion. Her motives were wholly political, seeking the peace and stability of the kingdom. The serious Reformers, who began about 1564 to be known as PURITANS, she regarded with jealousy and dislike (iii. 79); and it was with reluctance that she was compelled, by Catholic conspiracies and attack, to become a defender of Protestant interests.

NOTE. — The crisis of this struggle was during the later years and captivity of MARY STUART (who was beheaded in 1587), especially after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572); and it may be considered as having come to an end with the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in the early autumn of 1588.

The Ecclesiastical Commission.

110. As a means of preserving order, an Ecclesiastical Commission was created, or greatly extended, in 1583. It was a permanent body, composed of a large number of persons, including many laymen; but practically its power, which was very despotic, came to be exercised by the Archbishop of Canterbury

alone, who was thus a sort of ecclesiastical sovereign. The policy of this Commission was from the first extremely hostile to the Puritan party.

a. The Puritans, though few in numbers, were early divided into Presbyterians and Independents. The Presbyterians, led by Cartwright (1535–1603), insisted on their form of government as having exclusive divine authority. Cartwright, who was himself a narrow and unrelenting dogmatist, was answered by the broad and moderate views of Hooker (1553–1600), and was forced into exile by the arrogant and despotic Archbishop Whitgift (1532–1604), an extreme Calvinist in creed, but a high-churchman in politics, whom Elizabeth called her “little black husband.” The Independents, or Separatists, were led by Robert Brown (1550–1630), who was also compelled (1592) to seek refuge in Holland.

b. The general effect of the religious peace under Elizabeth, especially taken in connection with the violent struggles in France and the Netherlands (§§ 101–104), was to make England strongly Protestant; and gradually to give the Puritan spirit and influence advantage over the more light, romantic, or “humanistic” temper of an earlier period. Under these circumstances, too, the Calvinistic creed became closely associated with the temper and aims of Puritanism.

The Scotch Covenant.

III. In the year 1557 the “Lords of the Congregation” in Scotland formed a Covenant for the liberty of worship, which two years later became an armed League. The Scottish Kirk was established in 1560 under the guidance of JOHN KNOX. This included, besides its discipline and order of worship, an Educational System; namely, a School in every parish, a College in every notable town, and three national Universities. Under this direction, the Calvinistic creed and the Presbyterian order became the established religion of Scotland.

a. The first strong impulse given to the Reformation in Scotland was the burning of George Wishart for heresy, in 1546. The successor to his influence was John Knox (1505–1572), who was afterwards exiled, and for three years associated with Calvin in Geneva. At his return to Scotland in 1555 the country was governed by the queen-mother, Mary of Guise, as Regent; but her authority was overthrown by the revolution of 1560, when “the rookeries were demolished, that the rooks might not return.” In this revolution, wrote the English ambassador, “the voice of one man [Knox] is able in an hour to put more life in us than six hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears.” His best eulogy was spoken by the Regent Murray, who said, “There lies he who never feared the face of man.” The return of Mary Stuart (1542–1587) to Scotland was in 1561; her retreat to England, in 1568; her death, February 12, 1587.

b. The successor of Knox in influence and power was ANDREW MELVILLE (1545–1622), who firmly maintained the Kirk against the hostility of King James, and was especially efficient in developing the university-system of Scotland. To the king he said, laying his hand on his shoulder: “Sirrah, ye are God’s silly vassal. There are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is King James, the head of the Commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus, King of the Church, whose subject James VI. is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member.”

Hampton Court Conference.

112. In January, 1604, James I., who had just come to the throne of England, summoned four Puritan ministers to meet Archbishop Whitgift and eight others at Hampton Court, where their petition for further reform might be heard or refused. James had been on ill terms with Melville and the Kirk, and insisted on the maintenance of episcopacy, with the phrase, “No bishop, no king.” And to the appeal of the remonstrants he replied, “I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land.”

a. James had been welcomed in England by all religious parties: by the Catholics, in memory of his mother; by the Anglicans, from his known dislike of the Puritans; and by the Reformers, who placed high hopes in his Presbyterian training. The Hampton Court Conference identified him with the conservative high-church party.

b. The succession of Primates is here important in the history of Puritanism. WHITGIFT, dying in 1604, was succeeded by BANCROFT, — a strong advocate of the divine right of Bishops, and a persecutor of the Independents, — whose chief work was carrying through the preparation of the "King James's Version" of the Bible. Then followed (1610-1633) ABBOT, a high Calvinist and arbitrary, but lenient to the Puritans. This policy was strongly contrasted by LAUD (1633-1641), who held the position that the English Church is primarily Catholic, though independent of Rome, and who restored many formalities of Roman worship (see § 116. a). His highly arbitrary policy, known as "thorough," was regarded as a crime by the Puritans, who particularly resented the cruel jurisdiction of the "Star-Chamber Court;" and he was put to death, by judgment of the Long Parliament, January 10, 1645.

Independents in Holland.

113. The zeal of James I. and of Archbishop Bancroft to enforce conformity bore with especial cruelty upon the Independents. A congregation had been sustained for some time at Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire. In 1608, fearing to be imprisoned or dispersed, many of its members succeeded in escaping to Holland, where the law of the Dutch Republic gave complete religious liberty. Here they remained, residing chiefly at Leyden, the minister of their congregation being JOHN ROBINSON (1575-1625), the ablest of their leaders, and the best expounder of the Congregational Order.¹

¹ As distinct from the petulant and wilful Independency of Brown (§ 110. a).

The Plymouth Colony.

114. Impatient of living in a foreign land, and dreading the effect of the secular and trading temper about them, the English exiles in Leyden resolved to found a colony in America, where they might constitute a "civil body politic" on their own ecclesiastical model.¹ A portion of their congregation sailed accordingly in the autumn of 1620, in two small ships, of which only one, the "Mayflower," completed the voyage, landing at Plymouth, on the coast of New England, on the 22d of December. Their first corporate act was, before landing, to form a "Covenant," or civil compact, which should serve as the corner-stone of an independent political fabric.

NOTE. — This colony, feeble in numbers, and exposed to singular hardships, has left, in the narrative of its earlier years, the most pathetic and interesting chapter in the history of American colonization. It also remained truest to its original spirit, not being implicated in those harsh and doubtful acts which have brought discredit on its sister colonies. It remained independent till its union with Massachusetts, in 1692. For its religious character, see iii. 81-83.

Congregationalism in New England.

115. A colony far stronger, richer, and of higher social rank was formed at Salem and Boston, on "Massachusetts Bay," in the years from 1628 to 1630, and grew rapidly, the number of emigrants during the ten succeeding years being reckoned at twenty thousand.² In the State thus formed, the condition

¹ This was their true motive; not "freedom of worship," which they already enjoyed in Holland.

² The work of colonizing received a check from the conflict that soon broke out between Charles I. and his Parliament, and was practically completed by 1640 (see iii. 82, 83).

of citizenship, with the right to share in political action, was defined (1631) by *membership in a Congregational Church*; which condition remained unchanged for a little more than thirty years.

a. The Congregational idea differs from pure Independency in implying affiliation or fraternity among similar religious bodies, so as to constitute an extended organization, or body politic. The motive of the condition defined by the new State was: 1. to secure that the State should be Christian (a maxim then everywhere assumed); 2. that the State should be protected from the danger of Prelacy, or other ecclesiastical domination.

b. Danger *from within* was soon found, in the faction or fanaticism generated by Independency; which was met, or sought to be, by the banishment of Roger Williams (1635) and Ann Hutchinson (1636). A Synod held at Cambridge (1637) served to establish harmony for a time.

c. Danger *from without* ensued in 1644, when the success of the Presbyterians in England against the King and the authority of the Westminster Assembly (§ 117) led to a plot to subject the Colony to a uniform Presbyterian rule. A remonstrance was sent to the Parliament; but meanwhile the success of the Independents in England brought the project to nought (iii. 83). The constitution of the Congregational Order in New England was defined in the "Cambridge Platform," in 1648. For the later history of the New England churches see below, § 127; and consult, if possible, Dexter's "Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years."

Laud's Policy of "Thorough."

116. In the year 1633 Archbishop Laud (now Primate) began to enforce, with vigor and unrelenting cruelty, a scheme for expelling the Puritan clergy from the Church of England, and restoring, substantially, the condition of things under the "Six Articles" of Henry VIII. (§ 92. *a*). In the same year Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, went as Lord

Deputy to Ireland, where he carried out for six years a rule of despotic authority, designing to establish in England the same absolutism as was now exercised by Richelieu in France. The two were united in a common aim; the policy of absolutism in Church and State being known in their familiar correspondence as "THOROUGH."

a. The ecclesiastical plans of Laud included the restoration of Church architecture; dignity and splendor of ritual; conversion of the Table to an Altar (removing it from the middle of the church to the eastern wall, and guarding it by the chancel-rail), implying the doctrine of the Real Presence; and turning Sunday to a holiday. These were all regarded with alarm, as threatening a return to Papacy, — especially the last, which was strongly resented by the increasing seriousness of the time. The Puritan reaction which they called out proved fatal to Laud, and (for the time) to the entire episcopal system.

b. In particular, an attempt made to compel episcopacy, with the English liturgy, upon the Church of Scotland, in 1637, was defeated by obstinate popular resistance; and led, the following year, to the adoption of the SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, which was signed by nobles, gentlemen, and clergy on the 1st of March, 1638, and was enthusiastically adopted throughout the country (compare § 111).

Westminster Assembly.

117. Early in the Civil War (which lasted from 1642 to 1648), a League was made by the Parliament with the Scotch, having for its base the principles of the COVENANT, and including the establishment of the Presbyterian Order on public authority. To confirm the new Order, the *Westminster Assembly of Divines* was established in 1643, by parliamentary ordinance, as "a permanent advisory Council" for the regulation of affairs of Religion.

a. The Business of this Assembly was: 1. the revision of Church Articles; 2. the establishing of the *Solemn League and Covenant*; 3. the preparation of an official Body of Doctrine, known as the *Westminster Confession*, similar in the main to that of the Synod of Dort (§ 105).

b. By the secession of the Prelatists, the Westminster Assembly came to be a Presbyterian body, with only five Independents, and a few "Erastians," who held that the Church should be subject to state authority. The Presbyterian rule as established in Scotland was, however, held in check by a parliamentary Court of Superior Appeal. The party lost its control after the victories of Cromwell (1645), and the Assembly continued for only about five years.

Oliver Cromwell.

118. The great Captain of English Puritanism was OLIVER CROMWELL (1599–1658), who, with political and military genius, profound religious conviction, and unscrupulous resolution, carried out the policy of the Independents and the will of the Army, to the execution of the king and the abolition of the Church and the House of Lords (1649). The reactionary Presbyterians were expelled from Parliament; and Cromwell was the real sovereign of the nation for about ten years,—with the title of Lord Protector from 1653,—until his death.

The Commonwealth.

119. The religious theory of the State held by the Reformers was as positive as that held by the Church of Rome. Under the discipline of Calvin, this theory had taken the form of a COMMONWEALTH, more and more democratic as the Independents came to power. The theory was very perfectly realized for a time in the Colonies of New England; but in the struggles c

the English Commonwealth it became in time a military despotism, — powerful and victorious from the strength of religious conviction, but hated and feared by a large majority of the English people.

NOTE. — For the growth of the republican idea in Europe, and its interpretation by MILTON (1608–1674), see iii. 84–89.

The Restoration.

120. In the heat of political and theological passion there had sprung up a great growth of conflicting opinions, a license of speech, and a war of sects, which fast brought Puritanism into reproach and contempt. Its dream of a Christian Commonwealth was displaced by the reality of a rule under Major-Generals of the Army, which was no longer possible after the death of Cromwell. Natural science and free-thinking, scepticism and mockery, were taking the place, in the younger generation, of Puritan severity. The Presbyterian party, which had made extreme efforts for reconciliation with Charles I., rallied and organized in a Convention, with the intent to make terms with his son. They were anticipated by the popular desire and the action of their General. Charles II. returned to England in May, 1660, and the political work of Puritanism was at an end.

NOTE. — For the effect of the Restoration on religious life in England; see iii. 96–99, and for the general subject compare id. page 94.

CHAPTER XI.

MODERN CHRISTIANITY.

TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE CHURCH IN FRANCE, A. D. 1792.

Characteristics.

121. THE general religious characteristics of the period succeeding the great Religious Wars have been a free expansion of Sects, a widening liberty of Thought, an increasing spirit of Humanity, and a broad activity of religious enterprise in the directions of Education, Philanthropy, and Missions. This general tendency has been but partly held in check by religious bigotry, political passion, and wars of ambition or revolution.

NOTE. — For the main line taken in the direction of mental emancipation, see "Passage from Dogma to Pure Reason," iii. 126-154.

Church of England.

122. The liberal tendency of religious thought showed itself earliest and best in the English Church of the Restoration, in a generally tolerant policy, and in a series of very eminent preachers and theologians. On the other hand, the religious tone of that Church was greatly lowered by the exclusion of the Puritan clergy, and by the servile dependence of the Establishment upon the State, associated with frequent changes in party politics. Thus the Church became

more exclusively national, or political, and alien from the sympathy of both the Catholic and the Protestant world.

a. The clergy of the Restoration period, and down to the suspension of "Convocation" in the political troubles of 1717, include Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667), one of the most learned, tender, and poetic of divines; More and Cudworth, the "English Platonists" (see iii. 166); Isaac Barrow (1630-1677), a most able mathematician, instructor of Newton, of weighty argument in Christian morals; Archbishop Tillotson (1630-1694), a very favorite preacher, cultivated, liberal, and urbane; Robert South (1633-1716), a mind singularly vigorous, fertile, and entertaining; Thomas Sherlock (1678-1761), in keen and practical sense perhaps the best, at least the manliest, moralist of the period. (See the chapter on "English Rationalism," iii. 155-184.)

b. Some of the best and most intrepid members of the Church, as well as a few restless and disloyal politicians, refusing to acknowledge the law of Protestant Succession (1702), were dispossessed as "Non-Jurors": of these the most eminent was William Law (1686-1761), whose writings made an epoch in the religious life of England; while a class of secular politicians came to church-preferment, — as Bishop Hoadley (1676-1761), who coarsely defended State control in the "Bangorian Controversy."¹

Nonconformists.

123. An "Act of Uniformity," designed to drive the remaining Puritan preachers from the English Church by imposing rigorous tests, was passed in 1662; and in consequence of it about two thousand of the clergy resigned their livings in a single day (August 24), becoming founders of the body known as NONCONFORMISTS. Being shut out from political life and from church-preferment, these became allied

¹ This phase of the Church is very entertainingly shown in the old song, "The Vicar of Bray."

in sympathy with the larger group of sects known as DISSENTERS; and have included some of the best learning and ability, as well as (probably) the purest and most earnest religious life of the period.

NOTE. — The most eminent of the Nonconformist leaders were Richard Baxter (1615-1691), author of many and voluminous religious works, including "The Saint's Rest"; John Owen (1616-1683; see iii. 216); and John Howe (1630-1705), a preacher of singular fervor and power, once a chaplain of Cromwell. A later generation includes the familiar names of Watts, Doddridge, Adam Clarke, and Philip Henry (compare iii. 96-99).

Rational Christianity.

124. With the defeat of ecclesiastical authority came a period in which the defence of Christianity was made to rest not on *the supremacy of revelation over reason*, but on *the conformity of revelation with reason*. This argument is maintained in a large body of the theological writings of the eighteenth century, especially in England.

NOTE. — The best known writings of this class are Locke's "Reasonableness of Christianity" (1695), Clarke's "Attributes" (1704), Butler's "Analogy" (1726), Lardner's "Credibility" (1723-1743), and Paley's "Evidences" (1794). See iii. 160-166, 168-174, 180-182. Incidental to this discussion was what is generally known as the "Deistical Controversy," for which see iii. 176-180.

Methodism.

125. In the year 1729 a society for religious conference was formed by a few young men, students at Oxford, who were presently nicknamed "Sacramentarians" and "Methodists." Their leader, JOHN WESLEY (1703-1791), on a missionary voyage to Georgia in 1735, met and was powerfully influenced by a company of Moravian Brethren. In 1739, after

his return to England, Methodism began to be an active and powerful movement among the people, carried out by means of *lay preachers* and a system of *classes* and *circuits*, the whole being inspired and directed by Wesley himself, aided by his brother Charles (1708–1785) and George Whitefield (1716–1770). The body was divided in 1741 on the question of doctrine; Whitefield, their most eloquent preacher, becoming a rigid Calvinist.

NOTE. — Wesley did not ^{act independently, &} ~~formally separate from~~ the Church of England till 1784, and then on the point (which he insisted upon) of ordaining his own field-preachers. Methodism is regarded as a reaction against the secular and worldly spirit of the Church; and was undoubtedly the most remarkable and powerful movement in the religious life of England since the Reformation. In numbers and influence the Methodists are, after the Roman Catholics, the most powerful religious body in America at this day.

Christian Philanthropy.

126. The movement of religious life in England, quickened by Methodism, and generally strongest among the Dissenters, appeared towards the end of the Eighteenth Century in a new and powerful sentiment of humanity. This philanthropic spirit, more than any other feature, distinguishes the later from the earlier phases of Christian history.¹

NOTE. — The most striking exhibition of this spirit was in the work of JOHN HOWARD (1726–1790), whose labors in prisons and hospitals, begun in 1774, were the fruit of a profound and grave sense of religious duty. But it is also seen in the popular sympathy roused by the wrongs of India and of the slave-trade; and in the sentiment of a school of poetry of which Cowper (1731–1800) is the best example.

¹ For the grounds of this comparison, see "Our Liberal Movement," pp. 164–168.

Churches in New England.

127. To meet the political difficulty resulting in the New England colonies from the Restoration, a compromise between Church and State had been adopted under the name of the "Half-way Covenant" (1662), giving the right of baptism to the children of persons who were not church-members. The secularizing effect of this compromise was early seen and dreaded; but the first strong reaction was felt in the "Great Awakening" of 1735. This, reinforced a few years later by the preaching of Whitefield, revived in the New England churches much of their earlier Puritanic spirit, with still greater doctrinal rigor.

a. A Synod in 1689, directed by Increase Mather (1639-1723), had remonstrated against "men of known unregeneracy sharing in the tremendous mysteries of the Lord's Supper;" and in 1700 a plan was suggested for a "national church" with recognized ecclesiastical authority. Meanwhile power was gradually assumed by ministers and elders, as apart from the lay body. At a Reform Synod in Boston (1705) the system was adopted of Associations and Standing Councils; and in Connecticut the "Saybrook Platform" (1708) instituted a system of "Consociation," making a virtual Presbytery, which was, however, never adopted elsewhere. The leading name of this period in Massachusetts is that of Cotton Mather (1663-1728).

b. The "Great Awakening" was led by the eminent metaphysical divine JONATHAN EDWARDS (1703-1758); among whose successors the most distinguished were Samuel Hopkins (1721-1801) and Nathaniel Emmons (1745-1840). In these last, especially, is a marked *ethical modification* of the older doctrine, as shown in their protest against Slavery, and in a jealous individualism. "Association (said Emmons) leads to Consociation, Consociation to Presbyterianism, Presbyterianism to Episcopacy, and Episcopacy to Popery!"

The Gallican Church.

128. The centralizing policy of the monarchy in France aimed at two main ecclesiastical results,—the independent attitude of the National Church towards Rome, under the supreme authority of the King, with the title “Gallican Liberties;” and the suppression of heresy, which was effected by a series of acts culminating in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685.

NOTE.—For the terms of the so-called Gallican Liberties, and for the series of acts (1660–1685) resulting in the “Revocation,” see iii. 187–193.

Jansenism.

129. A controversy in the Catholic Church of France, respecting the doctrine of Predestination as taught by St. Augustine, arose in 1640, on the publication of a work called *Augustinus*, by Cornelius Jansen, a native of Holland. That doctrine was opposed by the Jesuits, and its defenders—including members of the pious community of Port Royal—were bitterly persecuted. Jansenism, however, gained great ascendancy in the following century, especially among the legal and commercial classes.

NOTE.—For the points at issue in the controversy, see iii. 107–111; for the character and fortunes of the religious community, the chapter on “Port Royal,” id. 100–125.

Free-Thinkers in France.

130. Profligacy and scepticism among the ruling classes in France, including many of the higher clergy, had greatly shaken the religious belief of educated persons, and a considerable literature of unbelief was in active circulation; when several acts of savage

bigotry—notably the executions of Calas and La Barre—called forth a storm of hostility against the Church. This, as expressed chiefly by Voltaire and Diderot, has passed into religious history as “French Infidelity.”

NOTE. — For the antecedents and circumstances of this attack, see iii. 193–202. Its forerunners and leaders were: Bayle (1647–1706), Montesquieu (1689–1756), Voltaire (1694–1778), Rousseau (1712–1778), D’Alembert (1717–1783), Diderot (1713–1784), D’Holbach (1723–1789). The execution of Calas was in 1762; that of La Barre in 1765.

Revival in Germany.

131. Religious and mental life in Germany recovered slowly from the desolation of the Thirty Years’ War, and was greatly fettered by bigotry, formality, and the interference of the State. The chief work done here for religious thought during the Eighteenth Century was in the way of philosophy and criticism; conspicuously the work of mental emancipation done by the eminent critic LESSING (1729–1781). The religious life is best illustrated by the Moravian Brethren, who established a community under Count Zinzendorf, at Herrnhut, in 1722.

NOTE. — For the nature and results of Lessing’s work, and the circumstances under which it was done, see iii. 219–226. For notices of the Moravian Brethren, see § 80. c; also, in connection with the life of Schleiermacher, iii. 255, 256.

The French Revolution.

132. Early in the course of the French Revolution (August 4, 1789), ecclesiastical as well as feudal privileges were abolished by general consent. A new church Constitution was framed, as part of the new political structure; and to the new constitution, politi-

cal as well as religious, the clergy were required to take oath. Most of them, however, refused, regarding the "constitutional clergy" with abhorrence. Many went into exile; and of those who remained many were charged with plotting insurrection. After the fall of the Monarchy, in 1792, legal support was withdrawn from the Church, and Christianity was formally abolished in France.

a. The wealth of the French Church before the Revolution was enormous, being reckoned at \$800,000,000, with an income of \$40,000,000. Its landed estate was confiscated, making a large part of the "peasant-proprietorship" of to-day; and the support of the clergy was assumed by the State (Nov. 2, 1789).

b. Most of the "religious houses" were suppressed in 1790 (Feb. 13); the "secular congregations" and "fraternities" in 1792 (Aug. 18). In the following year, during the "Reign of Terror," there broke out a ferocious persecution of the clergy and their supporters throughout most of France. (See iii. 210; or, for a complete account, consult Pressensé, "Religion and the Reign of Terror" [translation].)

CHAPTER XII.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

TO THE ABOLITION OF THE PAPAL SOVEREIGNTY, A. D. 1870.

Religious Reaction.

133. AT the beginning of this century a powerful reaction had already appeared against the excesses of the Revolution. The new spirit, fostered by the passionate eloquence of BURKE in England, was represented in France by a class of writings of which CHATEAUBRIAND'S "Genius of Christianity" was the chief, expressing ardently the sentiment of Catholicism; while in Germany a movement began, both religious and patriotic, which proved the opening of a new era of national life.

a. The horrors of the Revolution had been followed, as early as 1795, by a period of gayety and license; and two years later an attempt was made by the sect of "Theophilanthropists" to organize the humane and religious sentiment of the day in forms of worship. The religious life thus encouraged sought, however, its old channels; and Chateaubriand (1769-1848), who had long been an exile in England and America, found in 1800 the public mind in full accord with the sentimental and romantic fervor of his Catholic piety.

b. The most marked symptom of the reaction in Germany was in the Discourses of SCHLEIERMACHER (iii. 255-259), followed, some years later, by the noble and patriotic eloquence of FICHTE (1762-1814).

Concordat of 1801.

134. In the year 1801 Bonaparte, then First Consul, negotiated a treaty, or "Concordat," with the pope Pius VII., by which the Catholic Church was reinstated in France, and maintained by the national treasury, with the approval and recognition of the Pope; retaining, however, the constitutional changes, with the alienation of church property, which had been brought about by the Revolution. This Concordat was solemnly ratified, with religious ceremonies, at Easter, 1802, and has since remained the basis of the ecclesiastical organization of France.

a. Bonaparte was himself indifferent in matters of religion, and in Egypt had professed himself a Mussulman. But he found that people "will worship only at the old altars," and entered into the plan of restoration with great energy. He succeeded in persuading the pope that his own support was essential to the restoration of faith, and in compelling him to consent, though with great reluctance, to the constitutional changes, especially to recognize the revolutionary clergy.

b. Catholic Christianity was declared by the Concordat to be, not "the religion of France," as urged by the pope, but "the religion of a majority of the French people;" thus putting its support on a political basis, and making it a sharer of state support, with other faiths, in the ratio of its numbers (iii. 211).

Empire of Napoleon.

135. In assuming the Empire (1804), Napoleon claimed to be the true successor of Charlemagne, and restorer of the true relation between Church and State. In this view he required the Pope, under great inconvenience and humiliation, to attend his coronation in Paris; and two years later (1806), being victorious over Austria, compelled the abdication

of Francis II. as emperor, and the abolition of the "Holy Roman Empire."

a. The coronation of Napoleon followed shortly after the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, a representative Bourbon, which was everywhere regarded as a political murder, and which the pope thus found himself obliged to condone. Throughout the ceremony Napoleon also assumed to be the superior of the pope, crowning himself with his own hands when Pius had discharged the necessary forms.

b. It was the policy of Napoleon to secure the essential religious results of the Revolution: hence, as he had power, the Inquisition was abolished in Italy and Spain, and its secrets were dragged forth to light (1808); and the following year the temporal power of the Papacy was also abolished by "resumption of the grant of Charlemagne," Pius VII. remaining for some years in captivity in France.

Papal Restoration.

136. At the abdication of Napoleon, in 1814, the Pope was at once restored to his temporal sovereignty; the Order of Jesuits was revived by papal authority (August 7); the Office of Inquisition was renewed, and the College of the *Propaganda* was restored. New Concordats were formed with France and Austria, intended to give greater vigor to the Church; but in practice, the ecclesiastical situation in France has remained, till very recently, unchanged.

The Holy Alliance.

137. After the final defeat and captivity of Napoleon, in 1815, an alliance was formed by the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, for the sake of securing the religious and political results following the overthrow of the Napoleonic Empire, under the name of the HOLY ALLIANCE. Under this policy a

system of repression and arbitrary power was maintained for about thirty years over a large part of the Continent, with severe restrictions on popular liberty, enforced (especially in Italy) by acts of extreme cruelty. Freedom of religious opinion was found chiefly in Northern Germany, where it had expression in schools of philosophic speculation and historical or biblical criticism.

NOTE. — The influence in philosophy of Schelling and Hegel was chiefly felt between the restoration of 1814 and the revolutions of 1848. For the successive German schools of biblical criticism, see iii. 228-238.

Catholic Emancipation.

138. The TEST ACT of 1673 had excluded Roman Catholics from all share in public or official life in England. This policy, most unjust and cruel in its working, had been long continued through dread of popish (*Jacobite*) plots in the interest of the exiled Stuart Kings; and was prolonged by the conservative repugnance to change, especially after the terrors of the Revolution. But a more generous spirit, and a stronger regard for political justice, prevailed over obstinate opposition; and political equality was granted by the Act of CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, in 1829.

Rise of Liberalism.

139. The course of political events, with the increasing breadth and activity of philosophical speculation, led to a new and freer development of religious thought. This was seen: 1. in the greater prominence given to doctrine over form and tradition by the "Evangelical" party in the English Church; 2. in the philosophic and speculative interpretation

of doctrine, — as by Coleridge (1772–1834), — reducing dogma to metaphysics; 3. in the rapid growth of independent sects, of liberal or heretical opinion, as the Unitarians in England and America; 4. in the gradual extension of liberal principles or methods among other religious bodies, signally in the “Broad Church party” of the Church of England.

The Oxford Tractarian Movement.

140. In the year 1833 a very active, earnest, and highly intellectual movement began among the more conservative scholars and clergy of the English Church, and continued till 1841, having its source and chief seat at Oxford University. Its motives were to resist the tide of liberalism, to restore the authority of tradition, and to assert for the English Church a position “Catholic” and not “Protestant.” This position, retaining its independence of Rome, is sometimes called “Anglicanism.” It was defended in a series of ninety “Tracts for the Times,” and hence the movement had the name TRACTARIAN. Its tendency was strongly attacked, on the ground that it led logically to submission to the Roman Church. This issue was accepted by its ablest and most accomplished leader, John Henry Newman, who joined that Church in 1845 (followed by about 300 of the English clergy), and has since been made a Roman Cardinal. The tendency is now represented by the party known as “Ritualists.”

Modern Romanism.

141. The policy of Modern Romanism, as distinct from that of the mediæval period, may be inferred

to be: 1. passive conservatism in politics; 2. reliance on spiritual rather than political authority; 3. a religion of devotional fervor; 4. appeal to the imagination, the pious sentiment, and the implicit obedience of the mass of its subjects. This policy has been exhibited in the encouragement of Pilgrimages, — as to the “Holy Coat of Trèves” (1844) and *La Salette* (1846); in the attention drawn to popular miracles, — as the apparitions of the Virgin and wonders of healing said to be done at Lourdes (1858); in the revival of impassioned forms of worship, — as of the “Sacred Heart,” restored by Leo XII.; in emotional preaching, — as that of the great Dominican Lacordaire (1802–1861) at Paris. Especially in the reaction after the revolutions of 1848, this policy is seen in the larger range of ecclesiastical ambition, — as the dividing of England into Catholic “provinces” (1850); and the insistence on supernatural dogma appealing to the imagination, — as the “Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary,” first proclaimed as dogma in 1854.

Syllabus of Errors.

142. In the year 1864, in his earnest and persistent development of the papal policy, PIUS IX. issued an “Encyclical Letter” to the Catholic clergy throughout the world, accompanied by a *Syllabus of Errors*, to be condemned by ecclesiastical authority. These “Errors” include much of what is most characteristic and cherished in modern thought, — such as freedom of opinion and conscience, secular education of the people, the authority of natural science, and the value of material progress. This “Encyclical” and “Syl-

labus" were understood to put the Catholic Church, as represented by its official Head, frankly at war with the commonly recognized course of modern civilization.

Council of the Vatican.

143. Towards the close of the year 1869 an Œcumenical Council was assembled at the VATICAN (the Papal Palace in Rome), which continued in session until October 20, 1870. This Council reaffirmed the principles of the "Syllabus of Errors;" and, after long debate, and under strong protest, established as a Catholic dogma the personal Infallibility of the Pope in every sentence, officially delivered, on a point of faith duly submitted to his judgment. This was understood to be the logical development and culmination of the claim to supreme spiritual authority always asserted by the Church.

NOTE. — The modern dogma of Infallibility may be compared with the assertion of papal supremacy made by Boniface VIII. (§ 72), differing as it does from that in leaving untouched the field of secular politics. It was strenuously resisted by the great French prelate Dupanloup, Archbishop of Orleans; and by the eminent German theologian (the most distinguished Catholic historian) Döllinger, who still maintains his opposition, with the support of the "Old Catholics" of Germany.

Abolition of the Temporal Power.

144. In the summer of 1870 the "Second Empire" of Napoleon III. — which was understood to be favorable to the papal pretensions — was overthrown. Among the political results which followed, Rome was declared the capital of the Kingdom of Italy. The Papal States were now merged in the Kingdom, and the political sovereignty of the Pope was abolished. — September 20, 1870.

a. By the terms of settlement, the Pope remains independent lord and quasi-sovereign of the estate and palace of the Vatican, with a generous maintenance from the State. This, however, he has hitherto refused, preferring to appeal to the bounty of the Catholic world as "the Prisoner of the Vatican."

b. The chief political acts affecting the Roman Church since the abolition of the Temporal Power, have been: 1. the prohibition in France, under existing statutes, of "unauthorized Congregations," leading to the dispersion of many Jesuit and other Schools¹ sustained as religious foundations (1880); 2. the suppression of many religious establishments in Italy, and the absorption of their properties by the State, which provides for the public maintenance of the Church; 3. the so-called "May Laws" of the German Empire (passed in May, 1873 and 1875), designed to protect the loyal Catholic clergy suspended by the Pope, and to expel the disloyal among them; also to require in them a systematic university education. These were accompanied, in January, 1875, by the recognition of civil marriage of priests, and in March by the "Falk Laws," withholding government support from the disloyal clergy, abolishing religious orders, and giving protection to the "Old Catholics." These laws have since been the subject of violent remonstrance and controversy.

¹ Of the Jesuit Schools thus disbanded there were 74, containing 1,011 teachers and about 10,000 pupils.

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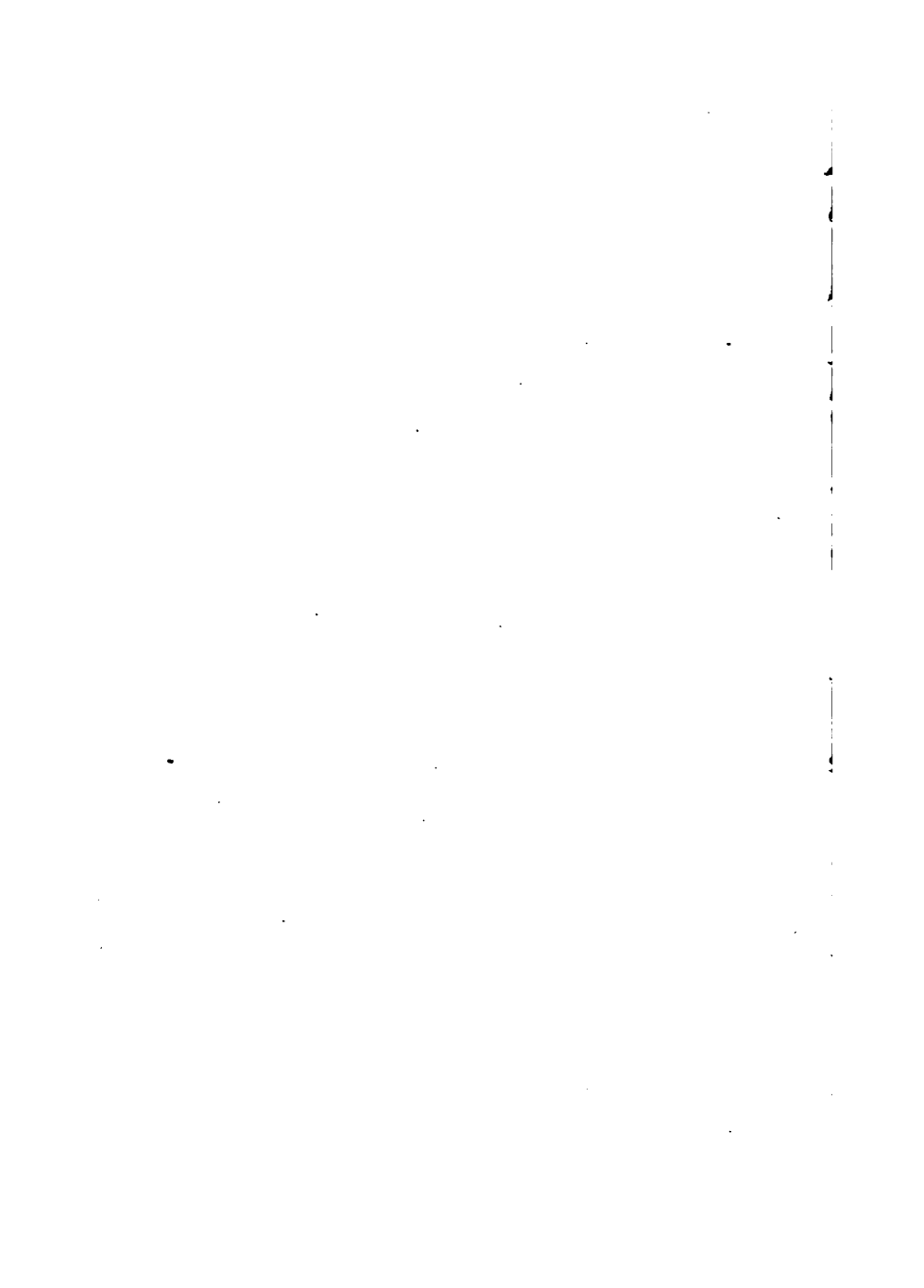
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